

NÉGOCIATION
Pour la pacification générale
DE
Lord Grenville
LORD MALMESBURY,
en 1796.
A LILLE, en 1797.

List.

No.

I. Note transmitted by Mr. Wickham to M. Barthelemy, with Translation.—Dated Berne, March 8, 1796.

II. Note transmitted from M. Barthelemy to Mr. Wickham, with Translation.—Dated Basle, 6 Germinal, An 4 de la République Francaise (March 26, 1796.)

III. Note.—Dated Downing Street, April 10, 1796.

1. Letter from Lord Grenville to Count Wedel Jarlsberg, with Translation.—Dated Downing Street, September 6, 1796.
2. Note transmitted through the Danish Minister to the Executive Directory.—Dated Westminster, September 6, 1796.
3. Letter from Count Wedel Jarlsberg to Lord Grenville.—Dated London, September 23, 1796.
4. Letter from M. Koenemann to Count Wedel Jarlsberg.—Dated Paris, September 19, 1796.
5. Note transmitted from Lord Grenville to the Minister for Foreign Affairs at Paris.—Dated Westminster, September 24, 1796.
6. Letter from M. Delacroix to Lord Grenville, inclosing Passports.—Dated Paris, 11 Vendémiaire, 5th Year of the French Republic.
7. Decree of the Executive Directory.—Dated 9th Vendémiaire, 5th Year of the French Republic, One and Indivisible.
- 7*. Letter from Lord Grenville to M. Delacroix.—Dated Westminster, October 13, 1796.
8. Note from Lord Malmesbury to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.—Dated October 22, 1796.
9. The Minister for Foreign Affairs to Lord Malmesbury.—Dated Paris, 1 Brumaire, An 5.
10. Lord Malmesbury to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.—Dated Paris, October 22.
11. The Minister for Foreign Affairs to Lord Malmesbury.—Dated Paris, 2 Brumaire, 5th Year, &c.
12. Lord Malmesbury to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.—Dated Paris, October 23, 1796.
13. Extract from the Register of the Decrees of the Executive Directory.—Dated 2 Brumaire, 5th Year of the French Republic, One and Indivisible.
14. Memorial delivered by Lord Malmesbury to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.—Dated Paris, October 24, 1796.

15. Answer of the Executive Directory to Lord Malmesbury's Memorial.—Dated Paris, 5 Brumaire, 5th Year, &c.
16. Note delivered by Lord Malmesbury to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.—Dated Paris, November 12, 1796.
17. Answer of the Minister for Foreign Affairs to Lord Malmesbury's Note.—Dated Paris, 22 Brumaire, 5th Year, &c.
18. Lord Malmesbury's Reply—Dated Paris, November 12, 1796.
19. Lord Malmesbury to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.—Dated Paris, November 13, 1796.
20. The Minister for Foreign Affairs to Lord Malmesbury.—Dated Paris, 23 Brumaire, 5th Year, &c.
21. Lord Malmesbury to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.—Dated Paris, November 13, 1796.
22. The Minister for Foreign Affairs to Lord Malmesbury.—Dated Paris, 23 Brumaire, 5th Year, &c.
23. Lord Malmesbury to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.—Dated Paris, November 13, 1796.
24. Note delivered by Lord Malmesbury to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.—Dated Paris, November 26, 1796.
25. Answer of the Minister for Foreign Affairs to the Note delivered by Lord Malmesbury.—Dated Paris, 7 Frimaire, 5th Year, &c.
26. Lord Malmesbury to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.—Dated Paris, November 27, 1796.
27. Note delivered by Lord Malmesbury to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.—Dated Paris, December 17, 1796.
28. Confidential Memorial A.—Dated Paris, December 17, 1796.
29. Confidential Memorial B.—Dated Paris, December 17, 1796.
30. Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, inclosing (A) (B) (C) (D).—Dated Paris, December 20, 1796.
31. (A) The Minister for Foreign Affairs to Lord Malmesbury. Dated Paris, 28 Frimaire, 5th Year.
32. (B) Lord Malmesbury to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.—Dated Paris, December 19, 1796.
33. (C) The Minister for Foreign Affairs to Lord Malmesbury. Dated Paris, 29 Frimaire, 5th Year.
34. (D) Lord Malmesbury to the Minister for Foreign Affairs. Dated Paris, December 20, 1796.

NOTE transmise à M. BARTHELEMI, par M. WICKHAM, le 8^{me} Mars, 1796.

LE Soussigné, Ministre Plenipotentiaire de Sa Majesté Britannique près les *Cantons Suisses*, est autorisé à faire parvenir à Monsieur *Barthelemy* le Desir de sa Cour, de savoir, par son Canal, les Dispositions de la *France* par rapport à l'Objet d'une Pacification generale. Il demande en consequence à Monsieur *Barthelemy* de lui transmettre par Ecrit (et après avoir pris les Informations nécessaires) sa Reponse aux Questions suivantes.

1°. Est-on disposé en *France* à ouvrir une Negotiation avec Sa Majesté Britannique, et Ses Alliés, pour le Retablissement d'une Paix generale, sur des Conditions justes et convenables; en envoyant, pour cet Effet, des Ministres à un Congrès, à tel Endroit dont on pourra convenir ci-après?

2°. Seroit-on disposé à communiquer au Soussigné les Bases generales d'une Pacification, telles que la *France* voudroit les proposer; afin que Sa Majesté et Ses Alliés puissent ensuite examiner de Concert, si Elles sont de Nature à pouvoir servir de Fondement à une Negotiation pacifique?

3°. Ou bien desireroit-on de proposer une autre Voie, quelconque, pour parvenir au même But d'une Pacification generale?

Le Soussigné est autorisé à recevoir de la Part de Monsieur *Barthelemy* la Reponse à ces Questions, et de la transmettre à sa Cour: Mais il n'a aucune Autorité pour entrer avec lui en Negotiation ou en Discussion sur ces Objets.

A Berne, ce 8 Mars, 1796.

Signé,

W. WICKHAM.

NOTE transmitted to M. BARTHELEMI, by MR. WICKHAM, March 8, 1796.

THE Undersigned, His Britannick Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary to the Swiss Cantons, is authorized to convey to Monsieur Barthelemy the Desire of his Court to be made acquainted, through him, with the Dispositions of France in regard to the Object of a general Pacification. He therefore requests Monsieur Barthelemy to transmit to him in Writing (and after having made the necessary Enquiries,) his Answer to the following Questions:

1°. Is there the Disposition in France to open a Negotiation with His Majesty and His Allies for the Re-establishment of a general Peace, upon just and suitable Terms; by sending, for that Purpose, Ministers to a Congress, at such Place as may hereafter be agreed upon?

2°. Would there be the Disposition to communicate to the Undersigned the general Grounds of a Pacification, such as France would be willing to propose; in order that His Majesty and His Allies might thereupon examine in Concert, whether they are such as might serve as the Foundation of a Negotiation for Peace?

3°. Or would there be a Desire to propose any other Way, whatever, for arriving at the same End, that of a general Pacification?

The Undersigned is authorized to receive from Monsieur Barthelemy the Answer to these Questions, and to transmit it to his Court: But he is not in any Manner authorized to enter with him into Negotiation or Discussion upon these Subjects.

Berne, March 8, 1796.

Signed,

W. WICKHAM.

NOTE transmise à M. WICKHAM,
par M. BARTHELEMI, le 26 Mars,
1796.

LE Soussigné, Ambassadeur de la République Française près le Louable Corps Helvétique, a transmis au Directoire Exécutif la Note, que Monsieur Wickham, Ministre Plénipotentiaire de Sa Majesté Britannique près les Cantons Suisses, a bien voulu lui faire parvenir, en Date du 8 Mars. Il a Ordre d'y repondre par l'Exposé des Sentimens et des Dispositions du Directoire Executif.

Le Directoire desire ardemment de procurer à la République Française une Paix juste, honorable, et solide. La Démarche de Monsieur Wickham lui eut causé une véritable Satisfaction, si la Declaration même que ce Ministre fait, de n'avoir aucun Mandat, aucun Pouvoir, pour négocier, ne donnait Lieu de douter de la Sincerité des Intentions pacifiques de sa Cour. En Effet, s'il etait vrai que l'Angleterre commençât à connoître ses veritables Intérêts, qu'elle désirât de rouvrir pour Elle-même les Sources de l'Abondance et de la Prosperité; si Elle cherchait la Paix de bonne Foi, proposerait-Elle un Congrès, dont le Resultat nécessaire serait de rendre toute Negotiation interminable, ou se bornerait-Elle à demander vaguement que le Gouvernement Français indiquât une autre Voie quelconque pour arriver au même But, d'une Pacification generale?

Cette Démarche, n'aurait-Elle eu d'autre Objet que d'obtenir pour le Gouvernement Britannique la Faveur qui accompagne toujours les premières Ouvertures de Paix? N'aurait-

NOTE transmitted to Mr. WICKHAM,
by M. BARTHELEMI, March 26,
1796.

THE Undersigned, Ambassador of the French Republick to the Helvetick Body, has transmitted to the Executive Directory the Note, which Mr. Wickham, His Britannick Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary to the Swiss Cantons, was pleased to convey to him, dated the 8th of March. He has it in Command to answer it by an Exposition of the Sentiments and Dispositions of the Executive Directory.

The Directory ardently desires to procure for the French Republick a just, honourable, and solid Peace. The Step taken by Mr. Wickham would have afforded to the Directory a real Satisfaction, if the Declaration itself, which that Minister makes, of his not having any Order, any Power to negotiate, did not give Room to doubt of the Sincerity of the pacifick Intentions of his Court. In Fact, if it was true that England began to know her real Interests, that she wished to open again for herself the Sources of Abundance and Prosperity; if she sought for Peace with good Faith; would she propose a Congress, of which the necessary Result must be to render all Negotiation endless? Or would she confine herself to the asking in a vague Manner that the French Government should point out any other Way, whatever, for attaining the same Object, that of a general Pacification?

Is it that this Step has had no other Object than to obtain for the British Government the favourable Impression which always accompanies the first Overtures for Peace? May it not have

Elle pas été accompagnée de l'Espoir qu'elles n'auraient aucunes Suites ?

Quoiqu'il en soit, le Directoire Executif, dont la Politique n'a pour Guide que la Franchise et la Loyauté, suivra dans ses Explications une Marche qui y sera entièrement conforme. Cédant au Desir ardent qui l'anime de procurer la Paix à la Republique *Française*, et à tous les Peuples, il ne craindra pas de se prononcer ouvertement. Chargé par la Constitution de l'Execution des Loix, il ne peut faire ou entendre aucune Proposition qui y serait contraire. L'Acte Constitutionnel ne lui permet de consentir à aucune Alienation de ce, qui, d'après les Loix existantes, constitue le Territoire de la Republique.

Quant aux Pays occupés par les Armées *Françaises*, et qui n'ont point été reunis, ils peuvent ainsi que les autres Interêts Politiques ou Commerciaux, devenir l'Objet d'une Negotiation ; qui presentera au Directoire les Moyens de prouver combien Il desire arriver promptement à une heureuse Pacification.

Il est prêt à recevoir à cet Egard toutes les Ouvertures justes, raisonables, et conformes à la Dignité de la Republique.

A Basle, le 6 Germinal, An 4^{ieme} de la Republique *Française*, (26 Mars, 1796.)

Signé,

BARTHELEMI.

have been accompanied with the Hope that they would produce no Effect ?

However that may be, the Executive Directory, whose Policy has no other Guides than Openness and Good Faith, will follow, in its Explanations, a Conduct which shall be wholly conformable to them. Yielding to the ardent Desire by which It is animated to procure Peace for the French Republic and for all Nations, it will not fear to declare itself openly. Charged by the Constitution with the Execution of the Laws, It cannot make or listen to any Proposal that would be contrary to them. The Constitutional Act does not permit It to consent to any Alienation of that which, according to the existing Laws, constitutes the Territory of the Republic.

With respect to the Countries occupied by the French Armies, and which have not been united to France, they, as well as other Interests, Political and Commercial, may become the Subject of a Negotiation, which will present to the Directory the Means of proving how much it desires to attain speedily to a happy Pacification.

The Directory is ready to receive, in this Respect, any Overtures that shall be just, reasonable, and compatible with the Dignity of the Republic.

Basle, the 6th of Germinal, the 4th Year of the French Republic (26th March, 1796.)

Signed,

BARTHELEMI.

NOTE.

LA Cour de Londres a recu, de la Part de Son Ministre en Suisse, la Reponse faite aux Questions qu'il avoit été chargé d'adresser à M. Barthélemy par Rapport à l'Ouverture d'une Negotiation pour le Retablissement de la Tranquilité Générale.

Elle a vu avec Regret combien le Ton et l'Esprit de cette Reponse, la Nature et l'Etendue des Demandes qu'elle renferme, et la Manière de les annoncer sont eloignés de toute Disposition pacifique.

On y avoue la Pretention inadmissible de s'approprier tout ce que les Loix actuellement existantes en France peuvent avoir compris sous la Denomination de Territoire Français. A une pareille Demande on ajoute la Declaration expresse de ne vouloir, ni faire, ni même entendre aucune Proposition contraire; et cela, sous le Pretexte d'un Reglement interne, aux Dispositions duquel toute autre Nation est entierement étrangere.

Tandis que l'on persistera dans ces Dispositions, il ne reste au Roi que de poursuivre une Guerre également juste et nécessaire.

Dès que Ses Ennemis feront paraître des Sentimens plus pacifiques, Sa Majesté s'empressera toujours d'y concourir, en se prenant, de Concert avec Ses Alliés, à toutes les Mesures les plus propres à retablir la Tranquilité générale sur des Conditions justes, honorables, et permanentes: Soit par l'Etablissement d'un Congrès, Moyen qui a si souvent et si heureusement rendu la Paix à l'Europe; soit par la Discussion préliminaire des Principes qu'on pourra proposer de Part ou d'autre pour Base d'une Pacification générale; soit enfin par l'Examen impartial de toute autre Voie, qui Lui sera indiquée pour arriver au même But salutaire.

A Downing-Street,
ce 10 Avril, 1796.

THE Court of London has received from Its Minister in Switzerland, the Answer made to the Questions which he had been charged to address to Monsieur Barthélemy, in respect to the opening of a Negotiation for the Retablissement of General Tranquillity.

This Court has seen, with Regret, how far the Tone and Spirit of that Answer, the Nature and Extent of the Demands which it contains, and the Manner of announcing them, are remote from any Disposition for Peace.

The inadmissible Pretension is there avowed of appropriating to France all that the Laws actually existing there may have comprised under the Denomination of French Territory. To a Demand such as this is added an express Declaration, that no Proposal contrary to it will be made or even listened to: And this, under the Pretence of an internal Regulation, the Provisions of which are wholly foreign to all other Nations.

While these Dispositions shall be persisted in, nothing is left for the King but to prosecute a War equally just and necessary.

Whenever His Enemies shall manifest more pacifick Sentiments, His Majesty will at all Times be eager to concur in them, by lending himself, in Concert with His Allies, to all such Measures as shall be best calculated to re-establish general Tranquillity on Conditions just, honourable, and permanent: Either by the Establishment of a Congrès, which has been so often and so happily the Means of restoring Peace to Europe; or by a preliminary Discussion of the Principles which may be proposed, on either Side, as a Foundation of a general Pacification; or, lastly, by an impartial Examination of any other Way which may be pointed out to Him for arriving at the same salutary End.

Downing-Street,
April 10, 1796.

No. 1.

A Downing Street, ce 6 Septembre 1796.

Monsieur Le Comte,

C'EST en Consequence des Ordres du Roi mon Maitre que j'ai l'Honneur de vous transmettre la Note ci-incluse, et de vous prier de la faire parvenir au Ministre de Sa Majesté Danoise à Paris, pour etre par lui communiqué au Directoire Exécutif. Les Sentimens de votre Cour sont trop bien connus au Roi pour que Sa Majesté puisse douter de la Satisfaction avec laquelle Sa Majesté Danoise verra l'Entremise de Ses Ministres employée, dans une pareille Occasion, ou de l'Empressement que vous mettrez, Monsieur Le Comte, à concourir à une Demarche tendante au Rétablissement de la Paix.

J'ai l'Honneur d'etre, avec la Consideration la plus parfaite,

Monsieur Le Comte,

Votre très humble,

et très obeissant Serviteur,

GRENVILLE.

A Monsieur

Monsieur le Comte de Wedel Jarlsberg,
&c. &c. &c.

No. 1.

Downing Street, September 6, 1796.

S I R,

IN Obedience to the Orders of the King my Master, I have the Honour to transmit to you the inclosed Note, and to request of you that you will forward it to His Danish Majesty's Minister at Paris, to be by him communicated to the Executive Directory.

The Sentiments of your Court are too well known to the King to admit of His Majesty's entertaining any Doubt of the Satisfaction with which His Danish Majesty will see the Intervention of his Ministers employed on such an Occasion, or of the Earnestness with which you, Sir, will concur in a Measure that has for its Object the Re-establishment of Peace.

I have the Honour to be, with the most perfect Consideration,

S I R,

Your most humble,

and most obedient Servant,

GRENVILLE.

To the Count Wedel Jarlsberg,
&c. &c. &c.

N O T E.

SA Majesté Britannique, toujours animée du même Desir, qu'elle a déjà temoigné, de terminer par des Conditions de Paix justes, honorables et permanentes, une Guerre qui s'est etendue dans toutes les Parties du Monde, ne veut rien omettre de sa Part qui puisse contribuer à cet Objet.

C'est pourquoi elle juge à propos de se servir de l'Entremise confidentielle des Ministres d'une Puissance Neutre, pour demander au Directoire Executif des Passports pour une Personne de Confiance que Sa Majesté enverroit à Paris, chargée de discuter avec le Gouvernement tous les Moyens les plus propres à amener une Fin si desirable. Et Sa Majesté se persuade qu'elle ne tardera pas de recevoir par le même Canal une Reponse satisfaisante à cette Demande, qui ne peut manquer de demontrer de plus en plus les Dispositions justes et pacifiques qui elle partage avec ses Alliés.

(Signed)

GRENVILLE

A Westminster, ce 6 Septembre, 1796.

No. 2.

N O T E.

HIS Britannick Majesty, animated with the same Desire, which He has already manifested, to terminate, by just, honourable, and permanent Conditions of Peace, a War which has extended itself throughout all Parts of the World, is willing to omit nothing on His Part which may contribute to this Object.

It is with this View that he has thought it proper to avail Himself of the confidential Intervention of the Ministers of a Neutral Power, to demand of the Executive Directory Passports for a Person of Confidence whom His Majesty would send to Paris with a Commission to discuss, with the Government there, all the Means the most proper to produce so desirable an End.

And His Majesty is persuaded that he shall receive, without Delay, through the same Channel, a satisfactory Answer to this Demand, which cannot fail to place in a still clearer Light the just and pacific Dispositions which He entertains in common with His Allies.

GRENVILLE.

Westminster, September 6, 1796.

No. 3.

M I L O R D,

J'AI l'Honneur d'informer votre Excellence que la Note de sa Part addressée au Directoire Executif en France, datée le 6 du Courant, a été remise par Mr. Koeneman, Chargé des Affaires de Sa Majesté Danoise, à Mr. De la Croix, Ministre des Relations Exterieurs à Paris, celui ci promit d'y faire Reponse après l'avoir misé sous les Yeux du Gouvernement. Trois Jours s'étant écoulés dans l'Attente d'en recevoir, Mr. Koeneman s'est de nouveau rendu chez le dit Ministre, qui lui a donné à connoître, que le Directoire Executif ne lui avoit point permis de donner une Reponse par Ecrit, mais qu'il étoit chargé de lui dire verbalement :

“ Que le Directoire Executif de la République Française ne recevoit et ne répondroit plus à des Ouvertures et à des Pièces confidentielles, qui lui parviendroient de la Part des Enemis de la France par intermédiaire, mais que si ceux-ci enverroient des Personnes munies de Plein Pouvoirs et de Pièces Officielles, elles pourront demander sur les Frontières les Passeports nécessaires pour aller à Paris.

J'ai l'Honneur d'être avec le plus parfait Respect,

Milord,

De votre Excellence

Le très humble et très obéissant Serviteur,

(Signé)

Comte de WEDEL JARLSBERG.

A Londres, ce 23 Septembre, 1796.

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No. 3.

MY LORD,

I HAVE the Honor to inform your Excellency, that the Note addressed to the Executive Directory of France, in Date of the 6th of the present Month, was transmitted by Mr. Koeneman, Chargé d'Affaires of His Danish Majesty, to Mr. Dclacroix, Minister for Foreign Affairs at Paris, who promised that an Answer should be returned to it after it had been submitted to the Consideration of the Government. Three Days having elapsed in Expectation of this Answer, Mr. Koeneman went a second Time to the Minister above mentioned, who gave him to understand, that the Executive Directory had not permitted him to return an Answer in Writing, but that he was directed to express himself verbally to this Effect :

“ That the Executive Directory of the French Republic would
“ not for the future receive or answer any Overtures or Con-
“ fidential Papers transmitted through any intermediate Channel
“ from the Enemies of the Republic, but that if they would send
“ Persons furnished with Full Powers and Official Papers, these
“ might, upon the Frontiers, demand the Passports necessary for
“ proceeding to Paris.”

I have the Honor to be, with the most perfect Respect,

My Lord,

Your Excellency's

Most humble and most obedient Servant,

(Signed)

Comte de WEDEL JARLSEBERG.

London, September 23, 1796.

No. 4.

Paris, ce 19 Septembre, 1796.

M O N S I E U R ,

J'ETOIS malade à ma Campagne quand le Courier de votre Excellence m'a apporté les Lettres dont elle m'a honorée en date du 7 ce Mois, avec la Note incluse de Milord Grenville. Je n'ai rien eu de plus pressé que de me rendre le Lendemain à Paris; où, ayant demandé une Audience particulière au Citoyen Delacroix, Ministre des Relations Extérieures, je lui ai remis la dite Note, accompagnée d'une autre de ma Part, dans laquelle je lui exposois les Motifs qui me firent entreprendre une Demarche, à laquelle je n'etois pas autorisé par ma Cour. Il me promit de mettre incessamment les deux Notes sous les Yeux du Gouvernement, et de me faire parvenir sa Reponse. Ayant attendu trois Jours sans voir paroître de Reponse, je me suis rendre Hier derechef chez le Ministre, qui d'un Ton très sec me dit que le Directoire Executif ne lui avoit pas permis de me donner une Reponse par écrit, mais qu'il étoit chargé de me dire verbalement.

“ Que le Directoire Executif de la Republique Française ne recrue et ne repondrait pas plus à des Ouvertures confidentielles, “ qui lui parviendraient de la Part des Eneimis de la France par “ intermediaire; mais que si ceux-ci enverroient des Personnes “ munies de Plein Pouvoirs et de Pieces Officielles, elles pourront “ demander sur les Frontieres les Passeports nécessaires pour aller à “ Paris.”

Voila, Monsieur, le Resultat d'une Demarche à laquelle je me suis prétée sur votre Invitation. Je desire pour la Bien de l'Humanité que nous puissions réussir mieux dans un autre Moment, mais je crains que ce Moment ne soit encore bien éloigné.

J'ai l'Honneur d'être, avec un Attachement respectueux,
Monsieur,
De Votre Excellence
Le très humble
Et très obeissant Serviteur,
KOENEMANN.

A Son Excellence
Monsieur le Comte de Wedel Jarlsberg,
&c. &c. &c.

No. 4.

Paris, September 19, 1796.

SIR,

I WAS indisposed at my Country House when your Excellency's Courier brought me the Letters, which your Excellency did me the Honour to write to me on the -th Instant, together with the Note of Lord Grenville inclosed therein. I set off for Paris on the following Day, where, after demanding an Audience of Citizen Delacroix, Minister for Foreign Affairs, I presented the Note above mentioned, accompanied by another in my own Name, in which I explained the Motives that had induced me to undertake a Measure for which I had no Authority from my Court. He promised to submit the Two Notes to the Inspection of the Government, and to return me an Answer immediately. Having waited for Three Days without receiving an Answer, I went a second Time to wait upon the Minister, who, in a very dry Tone, informed me, that the Executive Directory, had not permitted him to return an Answer in Writing, but that he was directed to express himself verbally to this Effect :

" That the Executive Directory of the French Republic would
 " not for the future receive or answer any Confidential Overtures
 " Papers transmitted through any intermediate Channel from the
 " Enemies of the Republic; but that if they would send Persons,
 " furnished with Full Powers and Official Papers, these might,
 " upon the Frontiers, demand the Passports necessary for pro-
 " ceeding to Paris."

Such, Sir, is the Result of a Measure which I have taken at your Request. I wish, for the Sake of Humanity, that we may meet with better Success at some future Period; but I fear that this Period is still at a great Distance.

I have the Honor to be, with respectful Attachment,

Sir,

Your Excellency's

Most humble

And most obedient Servant,

KOENEMANN.

To his Excellency

The Count Wedel Jarlsberg,

&c. &c. &c.

No. 4.

Paris, ce 19 Septembre, 1796.

MONSIEUR,

J'ETOIS malade à ma Campagne quand le Courier de votre Excellence m'a apporté les Lettres dont elle m'a honorée en date du 7 ce Mois, avec la Note incluse de Milord Grenville. Je n'ai rien eu de plus pressé que de me rendre le Lendemain à Paris ; où, ayant demandé une Audience particulière au Citoyen Delacroix, Ministre des Relations Extérieures, je lui ai remis la dite Note, accompagnée d'une autre de ma Part, dans laquelle je lui exposois les Motifs qui me firent entreprendre une Demarche, à laquelle je n'etois pas autorisé par ma Cour. Il me promit de mettre incessamment les deux Notes sous les Yeux du Gouvernement, et de me faire parvenir sa Reponse. Ayant attendu trois Jours sans voir paroître de Reponse, je me suis rendu Hier derechef chez le Ministre, qui d'un Ton très sec me dit que le Directoire Executif ne lui avoit pas permis de me donner une Reponse par écrit, mais qu'il étoit chargé de me dire verbalement.

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Et très obeissant Serviteur,

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A Son Excellence

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 " Enemies of the Republic; but that if they would send Persons,
 " furnished with Full Powers and Official Papers, these might,
 " upon the Frontiers, demand the Passports necessary for pro-
 " ceeding to Paris."

Such, Sir, is the Result of a Measure which I have taken at your Request. I wish, for the Sake of Humanity, that we may meet with better Success at some future Period; but I fear that this Period is still at a great Distance.

I have the Honor to be, with respectful Attachment,

Sir,

Your Excellency's
 Most humble
 And most obedient Servant,

KOENEMANN.

To his Excellency
 The Count Wedel Jarlsberg,
 &c. &c. &c.

N O T E.

EN demandant au Directoire Executif de la République Française par l'Entremise des Ministres d'une Puissance Neutre un Passeport pour l'Envoi d'une Personne de Confiance à Paris, la Cour de Londres a accompagné cette Demande de la Declaration expresse, que cette Personne seroit chargée de discuter avec le Gouvernement tous les Moyens les plus propres pour amener le Rétablissement de la Paix.

Le Roi persstant toujours dans les mêmes Sentimens déjà si clairement énoncés, ne veut pas laisser à ses Ennemis le moindre Pretexte pour éclater une Discussion dont le Resultat servira nécessairement ou à produire le Bonheur de tant de Nations, ou au moins à mettre en Evidencce les Vues et les Dispositions de ceux qui s'y opposeroient. C'est donc par une Suite de ces Sentimens, que le souligné est chargé de déclarer, que dès que le Directoire Executif jugera à propos de faire parvenir au soussigné les Passeports nécessaires, dont il renouvelle par cette Note la Demande déjà faite, Sa Majesté Britannique enverroit à Paris une Personne munie des Pleins Pouvoirs, et Instructions officielles, pour negocier avec le Directoire Executif sur les Moyens de terminer la présente Guerre, par une Pacification juste, honorable, et solide; propre à rendre le Repos à l'Europe, et à assurer pour l'avenir la Tranquillité générale.

(Signé)

GRENVILLE.

Fait à Westminster, ce 24 Septembre, 1796.

Au Ministre des Relations Exterieures,
à Paris.

No. 6.

J'AI l'Honneur d'adresser à Milord Grenville Copie de l'Arrété du Directoire Executif de la République Française en Reponse à sa Note du 27me 7bre, 1796 (V. St.) il y verra la Preuve de l'Empressement du Gouvernement Français à profiter de l'Ouverture qui lui est faite, dans l'Espoir qu'elle pourra amener la Paix avec le Gouvernement d'Angleterre. J'ai l'Honneur de lui envoyer également les Passeports demandés pour le Ministre Plénipotentiaire que Sa Majesté Britannique se propoie de nommer pour traiter, et je prie Milord Grenville d'agréer l'Assurance de mon Vœu particulier pour le Succes de cette Négociation, comme celle de la Confédération la plus parfaite.

CH. DELACROIX.

Paris, 11 Vendmiaire, de l'An 5
de la République Française.

No. 5.

N O T E.

IN demanding of the Executive Directory of the French Republic, through the Intervention of the Ministers of a Neutral Power, a Passport for a Confidential Person to be sent to Paris, the Court of London accompanied this Demand, with the express Declaration, that this Person should be commissioned to discuss with the Government all the Means the most proper for conducting to the Re-establishment of Peace.

The King, delivering in the same Sentiments, which he has already so uniformly vocally declared, will not leave to his Enemies the smallest pretext for eluding a Discussion, the Result of which will necessarily serve either to produce the Happiness of so many Nations, or at least to render evident the Views and Dispositions of those who oppose themselves to it.

It is therefore in pursuance of these Sentiments, that the undersigned is charged to declare, that as soon as the Executive Directory shall think proper to transmit to the undersigned the necessary Passports (of which he, by this Note, renews the Demand already made) His Britannic Majesty will send to Paris a Person furnished with full Powers, and Official Instructions, to negotiate with the Executive Directory on the Means of terminating the present War, by a Pacification, just, honourable, and solid, calculated to restore Repose to Europe, and to ensure, for the Time to come, the general Tranquillity.

(Signed)

GRENVILLE.

Westminster, Sept. 27, 1796.

To the Minister for Foreign Affairs,
at Paris.

No. 6.

IHAVE the Honour to transmit to Lord Grenville a Copy of the Decree of the Executive Directory of the French Republic, in Answer to his Note of the * 27th September, 1796, (O. S.)

He will there see a Proof of the earnest Desire of the French Government to profit of the Overture that is made to them, in the Hope that it may lead to Peace with the Government of England.

I have the Honour to send to him, at the same Time, the Passports required for the Minister Plenipotentiary, whom His Britannic Majesty proposes to name to treat; and I request Lord Grenville to accept the Assurance of my personal Wishes for the Success of this Negotiation, as well as that of my most perfect Consideration.

(Signed)

CH. DELACROIX.

Paris, 11 Vendemiaire, 5th Year
of the French Republic.

* Sic Orig.

No. 7.

Département des
Relations Exter-
rieurs.

Copie d'Arretes.

EXTRAIT du Registre des Arretes du Directoire Executif.

Du neuf Vendemaire, An 5 de la Republique Française,
Une et Indivisible.

LE Directoire Executif vu la Note addressee au Ministre des Relations Exterieures par le Lord Grenvillie, datee de West-ster, le 24^e 7^{bre}, 1796 : Voulant donner la Preuve du Desir qu'il a de faire la Paix avec l'Angleterre, arrete ce qui suit.

Le Ministre des Relations Exterieures est charge de delivrer les Passeports necessaires à l'Envoye d'Angleterre, qui sera muni de Pleins Pouvoirs, non seulement pour preparer et negocier la Paix entre la Republique Française et cette Puissance, mais pour la conclure definitivement entre elles.

Pour Expedition conforme,
(Signé) **L. M. REVELIERE LEPEAUX**, President.

Par le Directoire Executif.

Pour le Secretaire General,
(Signé) **LE TOURNEUR**.

Certifié conforme.

Le Ministre des Relations Exterieures,
CH. DELACROIX.

Par le Ministre,
J. GUIRAUDET, Sec. Gen.

No. 7.

Department of
Foreign Affairs.
Copy of Decrees.

Office.

EXTRACT from the Register of the Decrees of the Executive
Directory.The 9th Vendemaire, 5th Year of the French Re-
public, One and Indivisible.

THE Executive Directory, upon Consideration of the Note
addressed to the Minister for Foreign Affairs by Lord Gren-
ville, dated Westminster, September 24, 1796, wishing to give
a Proof of the Desire which it entertains to make Peace with
England, decrees as follows:

The Minister for Foreign Affairs is charged to deliver the ne-
cessary Passports to the Envoy of England, who shall be furnished
with Full Powers, not only for preparing and negotiating the
Peace between the French Republic and that Power, but for con-
cluding it definitively between them.

True Copy,

(Signed) L. M. REVELIERE LEPEAUX, President,

By the Executive Directory.

For the Secretary General,

(Signed) LE TOURNEUR.

Certified True Copy,

The Ministre for Foreign Affairs,

CH. DELACROIX.

By the Minister,

J. GUIRAUDET, Sec. Gen.

LE Lord Malmesbury, nommé par le Roi pour traiter avec le Gouvernement François d'une Paix juste et équitable, propre à rendre le Repos à l'Europe, et à assurer pour l'avenir la Tranquillité publique, aura l'Honneur de remettre cette Lettre de ma Part à M. Delacroix.

Le Rang et le Merite eminent du Ministre que Sa Majesté a choisi dans cette Occasion, me dispense de rien dire à son Sujet ; en même Tems qu'il fournit une nouvelle Preuve du Desir de Sa Majesté de contribuer à la Nécessité de cette Negociation ; Objet pour lequel je fais les Voeux les plus sincères.

M. Delacroix voudra bien agréer de ma Part l'Assurance de la Consideration la plus parfaite.

(Signé)

GRENVILLE.

A Westminstre, ce 13 Octobre, 1796.

Au Ministre des Relations
Exterieures, à Paris.

LE Lord Malmesbury, nommé par Sa Majesté Britannique comme Son Plenipotentiaire auprès de la République François, a l'Honneur d'annoncer, par son Secrétaire, au Ministre des Relations Exterieures, son Arrivée à Paris ; et de le prier, à même Temps, de vouloir bien lui indiquer l'Heure à laquelle il pourroit se rendre chez lui, pour lui communiquer l'Objet de sa Mission.

A Paris, ce 22 Oct^{re} à 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ P. M.

Au Ministre des Relations Exterieures.

LE Ministre des Relations Exterieures apprend avec Satisfaction l'Arrivée du Lord Malmesbury, Ministre Plenipotentiaire de Sa Majesté Britannique. Il aura l'Honneur de le recevoir Demain à Onze Heures du Matin, ou plus tard, si cela lui convient, jusqu'à Deux Heures. S'il précise l'Heure, il espere que le Lord Malmesbury voudra bien l'excuser, sur la Nature et la Multiplicité des ses Occupations.

1^{re} Brumaire, An 5.

A Milord Malmesbury, Ministre Plenipotentiaire de Sa Majesté Britannique près de la République François, à Paris.

No. 7. *

LORD Malmesbury, who is appointed by the King to treat with the French Government for a just and equitable Peace, calculated to restore Repose to Europe, and to ensure the Public Tranquillity for the Time to come, will have the Honour of delivering this Letter from me to M Delacroix.

The distinguished Rank and Merit of the Minister of whom His Majesty has made Choice on this Occasion, makes it unnecessary for me to say any Thing in his Recommendation; at the same Time that it furnishes a fresh Proof of the Desire of His Majesty to contribute to the Success of this Negotiation: for which Object I entertain the most sanguine Wishes.

Monsieur Delacroix will have the Goodness to accept from me the Assurance of my most perfect Consideration.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

Westminster, October 13, 1796.

To the Minister for Foreign Affairs, at Paris.

No. 8.

LORD Malmesbury, named by His Britannick Majesty as his Plenipotentiary to the French Republic, has the Honor to announce, by his Secretary, to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, his Arrival at Paris; and to request of him, at the same Time, to be so good as to appoint the Hour at which he may wait upon him, for the Purpose of communicating to him the Object of his Mission.

Paris, Oct. 22, 1796.

To the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

No. 9.

THE Minister for Foreign Affairs learns with Satisfaction the Arrival of Lord Malmesbury, Plenipotentiary of His Britannick Majesty. He will have the Honor to receive him Tomorrow at Eleven o'Clock in the Morning, or at any later Hour that may suit him, till Two o'Clock. He hopes that Lord Malmesbury will forgive him for thus limiting the Time, on Account of the Nature and the Multiplicity of his Occupations.

1st Brumaire, An. 5.
(October 22, 1796.)

To Lord Malmesbury, Minister Plenipotentiary from His Britannick Majesty to the French Republic, at Paris.

No. 10.

LE Lord Malmesbury a l'Honneur de remercier le Ministre des Relations Exterieures de la Reponse obligeante qu'il vient de recevoir de sa Part.

Il accepte avec Plaisir le premier Moment proposé, et se rendra chez lui Demain Matin, à Onze Heures précises.

A Paris ce 22 Oct.

Au Ministre des Relations Exterieures.

No. 11.

LE Ministre des Relations Exterieures a l'Honneur de prévenir le Lord Malmesbury, Commissaire Plenipotentiare de Sa Majesté Britannique, qu'il a reçu du Directoire Executif les Pouvoirs nécessaires pour negocier et conclure la Paix entre la République et Sa Majesté.

Dès Demain, si le Lord Malmesbury le desire, les Pouvoirs respectifs seront échangés. Le Ministre des Relations Exterieures sera prêt ensuite à recevoir les Propositions que le Lord Malmesbury est chargé de faire à la République de la Part de Sa Majesté Britannique.

Le Ministre des Relations Exterieures prie le Lord Malmesbury d'agréer les Assurances de sa haute Consideration.

(Signé)

CH. DELACROIX.

2 Brumaire, An. 5.

No. 10.

LORD Malmesbury has the Honour to thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs for the obliging Answer which he has just received from him.

He accepts with Pleasure the first Moment proposed, and will wait upon him Tomorrow Morning, at Eleven o'Clock precisely.

Paris, Oct. 22.

To the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

No. 11.

THE Minister for Foreign Affairs has the Honour to apprise Lord Malmesbury, Commissioner Plenipotentiary of His Britannick Majesty, that he has received from the Executive Directory the necessary Powers for negotiating and concluding Peace between the Republick and His Majesty.

To-morrow, if Lord Malmesbury pleases, the respective Powers shall be exchanged. The Minister for Foreign Affairs will then be ready to receive the Propositions, which Lord Malmesbury is commissioned to make to the Republick on the Part of His Britannick Majesty.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs requests Lord Malmesbury to accept the Assurances of his high Consideration.

(Signed)

CH. DELACROIX.

2 Brumaire, An. 5.
(October 22, 1796.)

No. 12.

LE Lord Malmesbury a l'Honneur de faire ses Remercimens au Ministre des Relations Exterieures de la Communication qu'il vient de lui faire, et aura celui de se rendre chez lui Demain à l'Heure qu'il voudra bien lui indiquer, pour recevoir la Copie des Pleins Pouvoirs dont il est muni de la Part du Directoire Executif ; et dès l'Instant qu'ils seront échangés, il sera prêt à commencer la Negociation dont il est chargé.

Il prie le Ministre des Relations Exterieures d'agréer les Assurances de sa haute Consideration.

(Signé)

MALMESBURY.

à Paris, ce 23 Octobre, 1796.

No. 12.

LORD Malmesbury has the Honour to present his Acknowledgments to the Minister for Foreign Affairs for the Communication which he has just made to him, and he will have the Honour to wait upon him Tomorrow at the Hour which he shall have the Goodness to appoint, to receive the Copy of the Full Powers with which he is furnished on the Part of the Executive Directory; and as soon as they shall have been exchanged, he will be ready to commence the Negotiation with which he is charged.

He requests the Minister for Foreign Affairs to accept the Assurances of his high Consideration.

(Signed)

MALMESBURY.

Paris, October 23d, 1796.

No. 13.

EXTRAIT du Registre des Arrêtés du Directoire Executif.

Du 2 Brumaire, An 5 de la République Française, Une & Indivisible.

Departement des Relations Exterieures.

Bureau.

LE Directoire Executif après avoir ouï le Ministre des Relations Exterieures :

Le Citoyen Charles Delacroix, Ministre des Relations Exterieures, est chargé de négocier avec le Lord Malmesbury, Commissaire Plenipotentiaire de Sa Majesté Britannique, muni de Pleins Pouvoirs pour préparer et négocier la Paix entre la République Française et cette Puissance, et pour la conclure définitivement entre elles. Le Directoire donne au dit Ministre tous Pouvoirs nécessaires pour conclure et signer le Traité de Paix à intervenir entre la République et Sa Majesté Britannique. Il se conformera aux Instructions qui lui seront données. Il rendra Compte successivement du Progrès et de l'Issue des Négociations.

Le présent Arrêté ne sera point imprimé quant à présent.

Pour Expedition conforme.

(Signé)

L. M. REVEILLERE LE PEAUX.

Par le Directoire Executif.

Le Secrétaire Général.

(Signé)

LAGARDE.

Pour Copie.

Le Ministre des Relations Exterieures.

(Signé)

CH. DELACROIX.

Par le Ministre.

(L. S.)**T. GUIRAUDET, Sre. Gen.**

No. 13.

Department of Foreign Affairs.

EXTRACT from the Register of the Decrees of the Executive Directory.

2 Brumaire (22 Nov.) 5th Year of the French Republick, One and Indivisible.

Office.

THE Executive Directory, after having heard the Report of the Minister for Foreign Affairs,

The Citizen Charles Delacroix, Minister for Foreign Affairs, is charged to negociate with Lord Malmesbury, Commissioner Plenipotentiary of His Britannick Majesty, furnished with Full Powers to prepare and negociate Peace between the French Republick and that Power, and to conclude it definitively between them. The Directory gives to the said Minister all Powers necessary for concluding and signing the Treaty of Peace to take Place between the Republick and His Britannick Majesty. He shall conform himself to the Instructions which shall be given him. He shall render a regular Account, from Time to Time, of the Progress and of the Issue of the Negotiations.

The present Decree shall not be printed at this Time.

A true Copy.

(Signed) L. R. REVEILLERE LE PEAUX.

By the Executive Directory.

The Secretary General.

(Signed) LA GARDE.

Copy.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs.

(Signed) CH. DELACROIX.

By the Minister.

(L. S.) T. GUIRAUDET, Sec. Gen.

No. 14.

M E M O I R E.

Sa Majesté Britannique désirant, comme elle a déjà déclaré, de contribuer en autant que cela pourra dépendre d'elle, à rétablir la Tranquillité Publique, & à assurer par des Conditions de Paix, justes, honorables & solides, le Repos futur de l'Europe ; Sa Majesté pense que le meilleur Moyen de parvenir le plutôt possible à ce But salutaire, sera de convenir, dès le Commencement de la Négociation, du Principe général qui devra servir de Base aux Arrangemens définitifs.

Le premier Objet des Négociations de Paix, se rapporte ordinairement aux Restitutions & aux Cessions que les Parties respectives ont à se demander mutuellement, en conséquence des Evénemens de la Guerre.

La Grande Bretagne, d'après le Succès non interrompu de sa Guerre Maritime, se voit dans le Cas de n'avoir aucune Restitution à demander à la France, sur laquelle, au contraire, elle a conquis des Etablissements & des Colonies de la plus haute Importance, & d'une Valeur presqu' incalculable.

Mais en revanche, cette dernière a fait, sur le Continent de l'Europe, des Conquêtes auxquelles Sa Majesté peut d'autant moins être indifférente, que les Intérêts les plus importans de ses Peuples & les Engagemens les plus sacrés de sa Couronne s'y trouvent essentiellement impliqués.

La Magnanimité du Roi, sa bonne Foi inviolable, & son Désir de rendre le Repos à tant de Nations, lui font envisager dans cet Etat de Choses, le Moyen d'arriver à des Conditions de Paix justes & équitables pour toutes les Parties Belligérantes, & propres à assurer, pour l'avenir, la Tranquillité générale.

C'est donc sur ce Pied qu'elle propose de négocier, en offrant de compenser à la France, par des Restitutions proportionnelles, les Arrangemens auxquels cette Puissance sera appelée à consentir, pour satisfaire aux justes Demandes des Alliés du Roi, & pour conserver la Balance Politique de l'Europe.

En faisant cette première Ouverture, Sa Majesté se réserve à s'expliquer, dans la suite, d'une Manière plus étendue, sur l'Application de ce Principe aux différens Objets dont il pourra être Question entre les Parties respectives.

C'est

No. 14.

MEMORIAL.

HIS Britannic Majesty desiring, as He has already declared, to contribute, as far as depends on Him, to the Re-establishment of Public Tranquillity, and to ensure, by the Means of just, honourable, and solid Conditions of Peace, the future Repose of Europe; His Majesty is of Opinion, that the best Means of attaining, with all possible Expedition, that salutary End, will be to agree, at the Beginning of the Negotiation, on the general Principle which shall serve as a Basis for the definitive Arrangements.

The first Object of Negotiations for Peace, generally relates to the Restitutions and Cessions which the respective Parties have mutually to demand, in consequence of the Events of the War.

Great Britain, from the uninterrupted Success of her Naval War, finds herself in a Situation to have no Restitution to demand of France, from which, on the contrary, she has taken Establishments and Colonies of the highest Importance, and of a Value almost incalculable.

But, on the other Hand, France has made, on the Continent of Europe, Conquests, to which His Majesty can be the less indifferent, as the most important Interests of His People, and the most sacred Engagements of His Crown are essentially implicated therein.

The Magnanimity of the King, His inviolable good Faith, and His Desire to restore Repose to so many Nations, induce Him to consider this Situation of Affairs as affording the Means of procuring for all the Belligerent Powers just and equitable Terms of Peace, and such as are calculated to ensure for the Time to come the general Tranquillity.

It is on this Footing, then, that He proposes to negotiate, by offering to make Compensation to France, by proportionable Restitutions, for those Arrangements to which she will be called upon to consent, in order to satisfy the just Demands of the King's Allies, and to preserve the Political Balance of Europe.

Having made this first Overture, His Majesty will, in the Sequel, explain himself more particularly on the Application of this Principle to the different Objects which may be discussed between the respective Parties.

It

C'est cette Application qui fera la Matière des Discussions dans lesquelles elle a autorisé son Ministre d'entrer, dès que l'on sera convenu du Principe à adopter pour Base générale de la Négociation.

Mais Sa Majesté ne peut se dispenser de déclarer que si cette Offre généreuse & équitable n'était pas acceptée, ou si malheureusement les Discussions qui s'ensuivraient venaient à manquer de l'Effet désiré, ni cette Proposition générale, ni celles plus détaillées qui en seraient résultées, ne pourraient plus être regardées, dans aucun Cas, comme des Points convenus ou accordés par Sa Majesté.

(Signé)

MALMESBURY,

Ministre Plénipotentiaire de Sa Majesté Britannique.

A Paris, ce 24 Octobre, 1796.

No. 15.

EXTRAIT des Registres des Délibérations du Directoire Exécutif.

Paris, le cinq Brumaire, l'an cinq de la République Française une et indivisible.

LE Directoire charge le Ministre des Relations Extérieures de faire au Lord Malmesbury la Réponse suivante :

Le Directoire Exécutif voit avec Peine qu'au Moment où il avait Lieu d'espérer le très-prochain Retour de la Paix entre la République Française et Sa Majesté Britannique, la Proposition du Lord Malmesbury n'offre que des Moyens dilatoires ou très éloignés d'en amener la Conclusion.

Le Directoire observe, qui si le Lord Malmesbury eût voulu traiter séparément, ainsi qu'il y est formellement autorisé par la Teneur de ses Lettres de Créditance, les Négociations eussent pu être considérablement abrégées ; que la Nécessité de balancer avec les Intérêts des deux Puissances ceux des Alliés de la Grande Bretagne, multiplie les Combinaisons, complique les Difficultés, tend à la Formation d'un Congrès dont on fait que les Formes sont toujours lentes, et exigent l'Accession des Puissances qui, jusqu'ici, n'ont témoigné aucun Désir de Rapprochement, et n'ont donné au Lord Malmesbury lui-même, d'après sa Déclaration, aucun Pouvoir de stipuler pour elles.

Ainsi,

It is this Application which will constitute the Subject of those Discussions, into which His Majesty has authorized his Minister to enter, as soon as the Principle to be adopted as the general Basis of the Negotiation is known.

But His Majesty cannot omit to declare, that if this generous and equitable Offer should not be accepted, or if, unfortunately, the Discussions which may ensue, should fail to produce the desired Effect, neither this general Proposition, nor those more detailed which may result from it, can be regarded, in any Case, as Points agreed upon or admitted by His Majesty.

(Signed)

MALMESBURY,

Minister Plenipotentiary from His Britannic Majesty.

Paris, Oct. 24, 1796.

No. 15.

EXTRACT from the Register of the Deliberations of the Executive Directory.

Paris, 5 Brumaire, 5th Year of the Republic,
One and Indivisible.

THE Executive Directory orders the Minister for Foreign Affairs to make the following Answer to Lord Malmesbury:

The Executive Directory fees with Pain, that at the Moment when it had Reason to hope for the speedy Return of Peace between the French Republic and His Britannic Majesty, the Proposal of Lord Malmesbury offers nothing but dilatory or very distant Means of bringing the Negotiation to a Conclusion.

The Directory observe, that if Lord Malmesbury would have agreed to treat separately, as he was formally authorized by the Tenour of his Credentials, the Negotiations might have been considerably abridged; that the Necessity of balancing with the Interests of the Two Powers, those of the Allies of Great Britain, multiplies the Combinations, increases the Difficulties, tends to the Formation of a Congress, the Forms of which it is known are always tardy, and requires the Accession of Powers, which hitherto have displayed no Desire of Accommodation, and have not given to Lord Malmesbury himself, according to his own Declaration, any Power to stipulate for them.

G

Thus,

Ainsi, sans rien préjuger contre les Intentions du Lord Malmesbury ; sans rien conclure de ce que sa Déclaration ne paraît point s'accorder avec les Pouvoirs qui lui sont délégués par ses Lettres de Crédence ; sans supposer qu'il ait reçu des Instructions secrètes qui détruiroient l'Effet de ses Pouvoirs ostensibles ; sans prétendre enfin que le double But du Gouvernement Britannique ait été d'écartier, par des Propositions générales, les Propositions partielles des autres Puissances, et d'obtenir du Peuple Anglais les Moyens de continuer la Guerre, en rejetant sur la République l'Odieux d'un retard qu'il aurait Nécessité lui-même : Le Directoire Exécutif ne peut se dissimuler que la Proposition du Lord Malmesbury n'est autre chose, et seulement sous des Formes plus amicales, que le Renouvellement de celles qui furent faites, l'Année dernière, par M. Wickham, et qu'elle ne présente qu'un Espoir éloigné de la Paix.

Le Directoire Exécutif observe encore, à l'égard du Principe des Rétrocessions mis en avant par le Lord Malmesbury, que ce Principe vaguement et isolément présenté, ne peut servir de Base à des Négociations ; que l'on doit considérer, avant tout, le Besoin commun d'une Paix juste et solide, l'Equilibre politique, que des Rétrocessions absolues pourraient rompre, et ensuite les Moyens que peuvent avoir les Puissances Belligérantes, l'une de soutenir des Conquêtes, faites lorsqu'elle était appuyée par un grand Nombre d'Alliés, aujourd'hui détachés de la Coalition ; l'autre, de les récupérer, lorsque celles qui avaient été d'abord ses Ennemis, sont devenues presque toutes ou ses propres Alliés, ou au moins neutres.

Cependant, le Directoire Exécutif, animé du Désir ardent de faire cesser le Fléau de la Guerre, et pour prouver qu'il ne se refuse à aucune Voie de Conciliation, déclare qu'außitôt que le Lord Malmesbury sera appartenir au Ministre des Relations Extérieures les Pouvoirs suffisants des Puissances Alliées de la Grande Bretagne, à l'Effet de stipuler pour leurs Intérêts respectifs, et leur Promesse de souscrire à ce qui aura été conclu en leur Nom, le Directoire Exécutif s'empêtrera de répondre aux Propositions précises qui lui seront faites, et que les Difficultés s'aplaniront autant que peuvent le comporter la Sûreté et la Dignité de la République.

Pour Expedition conforme,
(Signé) L. M. REVILLIERE-LEPEAUX, Président.

Par le Directoire Exécutif,
(Signé) LAGARDE, Secrétaire-Général.

Pour Copie conforme,
Le Ministre des Relations Extérieures,
CH. DELACROIX.

Par le Ministre,
Le Secrétaire Général,
J. GUIRAUDET.

No. 15. *continued.*

Thus, without prejudging the Intentions of Lord Malmesbury; without drawing any Conclusion from the Circumstance of his Declaration not appearing to accord with his Credentials; without supposing that he has received any secret Instructions which would destroy the Effect of his ostensible Powers; without pretending, in short, to assert, that the British Government, have had a double Object in View—to prevent, by general Propositions, the partial Propositions of other Powers, and to obtain from the People of England the Means of continuing the War, by throwing upon the Republic the Odium of a Delay, occasioned by themselves; the Executive Directory cannot but perceive, that the Proposition of Lord Malmesbury is nothing more than a Renewal, under more amicable Forms, of the Propositions made last Year by Mr. Wickham, and that it presents but a distant Hope of Peace.

The Executive Directory farther observe, with Regard to the Principle of Retrocessions advanced by Lord Malmesbury, that such a Principle, presented in a vague and isolated Manner, cannot serve as the Basis of Negotiation; that the first Points of Consideration are, the common Necessity of a just and solid Peace, the political Equilibrium which absolute Retrocessions might destroy, and then the Means which the Belligerent Powers may possess—the one to retain Conquests made at a Time when it was supported by a great Number of Allies, now detached from the Coalition; and the other, to recover them at a Time when those who were at first its Enemies, have, almost all, become either its Allies, or at least neuter.

Nevertheless, the Executive Directory, animated with an ardent Desire of putting a Stop to the Scourge of War, and to prove that they will not reject any Means of Reconciliation, declare, that as soon as Lord Malmesbury shall exhibit to the Minister for Foreign Affairs sufficient Powers from the Allies of Great Britain, for stipulating for their respective Interests, accompanied by a Promise on their Part to subscribe to whatever shall be concluded in their Names, the Executive Directory will hasten to give an Answer to the specific Propositions which shall be submitted to them, and that the Difficulties shall be removed, as far as may be consistent with the Safety and Dignity of the French Republic.

A True Copy,
(Signed) L. M. REVEILLERE-LEPEAUX, President.

By the Executive Directory.

(Signed) LAGARDE, Secretary General.

A True Copy,

The Minister for Foreign Affairs,

CH. DELACROIX.

By the Minister,

The Secretary General,

J. GWIRAUDET.

No 16.

N O T E.

Le soussigné n'a pas manqué de transmettre à sa Cour, la Réponse du Directoire Exécutif aux Propositions qu'il a été chargé de faire pour servir d'Ouverture à une Négociation pacifique.

Quant aux Insinuations offensantes et injurieuses que l'on a trouvé dans cette Piece, et qui ne sont propres qu'à mettre de nouveaux Obstacles au rapprochement que le Gouvernement Français fait profession de désirer, le Roi a jugé fort au dessous de sa Dignité, de permettre qu'il y soit répondu, de sa Part, de quelque Maniere que ce soit.

Le Progrès et le Résultat de la Négociation mettront assez en évidence les Principes sur lesquels elle aura été dirigée de Part et d'autre : Et ce n'est ni par des Reproches révoltantes et dénuées de tout fondement, ni par des Injures réciproques que l'on travaille de bonne-foi à l'ouvrage de la Paix.

Le soussigné passe donc au premier Objet de Discussion mis en avant dans la Réponse du Directoire Exécutif ; celui d'une Négociation séparée, à laquelle on a voulu, sans aucun Fondement, supposer que le soussigné était autorisé d'accéder.

Ses pleins Pouvoirs, expédiés dans la Forme ordinaire, lui donnent toute l'Autorisation nécessaire pour négocier et pour conclure la Paix ; mais ces Pouvoirs ne lui prescrivent, ni la Forme, ni la Nature, ni les Conditions du Traité futur.

Sur ces Objets, il doit se conformer, selon l'Usage établi et reconnu depuis long-tems en Europe, aux Instructions qu'il aura reçues de sa Cour ; et il n'a pas manqué, en Conséquence, de prévenir le Ministre des Relations Extérieures, dès leur première Conférence, que le Roi, son Maître, lui avait très-expresément enjoint de n'entendre à aucune Proposition tendante à séparer les Intérêts de sa Majesté d'avec ceux de ses Alliés.

Il ne peut donc être Question que d'une Négociation qui combinerait les Intérêts et les Prétentions de toutes les Puissances qui sont Cause commune avec le Roi dans la présente Guerre.

Dans le Cours d'une pareille Négociation, l'Intervention, ou du moins la Participation de ces Puissances deviendra, sans Doute, absolument nécessaire ; et sa Majesté espère retrouver en tout Tems les mêmes Dispositions pour traiter sur une Sûreté juste et équitable, dont

No. 16.

N O T E.

THE undersigned has not failed to transmit to his Court the Answer of the Executive Directory to the Proposals which he was charged to make, as an Opening to a pacific Negotiation.

With regard to the offensive and injurious Insinuations which are contained in that Paper, and which are only calculated to throw new Obstacles in the Way of the Accommodation which the French Government professes to desire, the King has deemed it far beneath his Dignity to permit an Answer to be made to them on His Part in any Manner whatsoever.

The Progress and the Result of the Negotiation will sufficiently prove the Principles by which it will have been directed on each Side; and it is neither by revolting Reproaches wholly destitute of Foundation, nor by reciprocal Invective, that a sincere Wish to accomplish the great Work of Pacification can be evinced.

The undersigned passes, therefore, to the first Object of Discussion brought forward in the Answer of the Executive Directory;—that of a separate Negotiation, to which it has been supposed, without the smallest Foundation, that the undersigned was authorised to accede.

His full Powers, made out in the usual Form, give him all necessary Authority to negotiate and to conclude the Peace; but these Powers prescribe to him neither the Form, the Nature, nor the Conditions of the future Treaty.

Upon these Points, he is bound to conform himself, according to the long established and received Custom of Europe, to the Instructions which he shall receive from his Court; and accordingly, he did not fail to acquaint the Minister for Foreign Affairs, at their first Conference, that the King his Master had expressly enjoined him to listen to no Proposal tending to separate the Interests of His Majesty from those of his Allies.

There can be no Question then but of a Negotiation which shall combine the Interests and Pretensions of all the Powers who make a common Cause with the King in the present War.

In the Course of such a Negotiation, the Intervention, or, at least, the Participation of these Powers will doubtless become absolutely necessary; and His Majesty hopes to find at all Times the

dont Sa Majesté l'Empereur et Roi a donné au Gouvernement Français une Preuve si éclatante, au Moment même de l'Ouverture de cette Campagne.

Mais il paroît que ce serait un Délai très-inutile que d'attendre une Autorisation formelle et définitive de la Part des Alliés du Roi, avant que la Grande-Bretagne et la France puissent commencer à discuter, même provisoirement, les Principes de la Négociation.

Une Marche tout-à-fait différente a été suivie par ces deux Puissances, dans presque toutes les Occasions semblables : et Sa Majesté pense que la meilleure Preuve qu'elles pourraient donner, en ce Moment, à toute l'Europe, de leur Désir mutuel de faire cesser, le plutôt possible, les Calamités de la Guerre, serait de convenir, sans Délai, d'une Base de Négociation combinée, en invitant, des-lors, leurs Alliés à y concourir de la Maniere la plus propre à accélérer la Pacification générale.

C'est dans cette Vue que le soufflé a été chargé de proposer d'abord, et dès le Commencement de la Négociation, un Principe que la Générosité et la bonne Foi de Sa Majesté pouvoient seules lui dicter ; celui de compenser à la France, par des Restitutions proportionnelles, les Arrangemens aux-quals elle devra consentir pour satisfaire aux justes Pretensions des Alliés du Roi, et pour conserver la Balance politique de l'Europe.

Le Directoire Exécutif ne s'est pas expliqué d'une Maniere précise, ni sur l'Acceptation de ce Principe, ni sur les Changemens ou Modifications qu'il désirerait d'y apporter, ni enfin sur l'énonciation d'un autre Principe quelconque qu'il proposerait pour servir au même But.

Le soufflé a donc l'Ordre de revenir sur cet Objet et de demander, là-dessus, une Explication franche and précise, afin d'abréger les Délais qui devront nécessairement résulter de la Difficulté de Forme mise en avant par le Directoire Exécutif.

Il est autorisé à ajouter à cette Demande la Déclaration expresse, que Sa Majesté, en faisant Part à ses augustes Alliés de toutes ses Démarches successives, relativement à l'Objet de la présente Négociation, et en remplissant, envers ces Souverains, de la Maniere la plus efficace, tous les Devoirs d'un bon et fidèle Allié, n'omettra rien de sa Part, tant pour les disposer à concourir à cette Négociation, par tous les Moyens les plus propres à en faciliter la Marche et en assurer le Succès, que pour les maintenir toujours dans des Sentimens conformes aux Vœux qu'Elle fait pour le Retour de la Paix générale, sur des Conditions justes, honorables et permanentes.

(Signé) - MALMESBURY.

A Paris, ce 12 Novembre 1796.

same Dispositions to treat, upon a just and equitable Basis, of which His Majesty, the Emperor and King, gave to the French Government so striking a Proof at the very Moment of the Opening of the present Campaign.

But it appears, that the waiting for a formal and definitive Authority on the Part of the Allies of the King, before Great Britain and France begin to discuss, even provisionally, the Principles of the Negotiation, would be to create a very useless Delay.

A Conduct wholly different has been observed by these two Powers on almost all similar Occasions; and His Majesty thinks, that the best Proof which they can give, at the present Moment, to all Europe, of their mutual Desire to put a Stop, as soon as possible, to the Calamities of War, would be to settle, without Delay, the Basis of a combined Negotiation, inviting, at the same Time, their Allies to concur in it, in the Manner the most proper for accelerating the general Pacification.

It is with this View that the undersigned was charged to propose at first, and at the very Commencement of the Negotiation, a Principle, which the Generosity and good Faith of His Majesty could alone dictate to him—that of making Compensation to France, by proportionable Restitutions, for the Arrangements to which she will be to consent, in order to satisfy the just Pretensions of the King's Allies, and to preserve the political Balance of Europe.

The Executive Directory has not explained Itself in a precise Manner, either as to the Acceptance of this Principle, or as to the Changes or Modifications which It may desire to be made in it; nor has It, in short, proposed any other Principle whatever to answer the same End.

The undersigned, then, has Orders to recur to this Point, and to demand, on that Head, a frank and precise Explanation, in order to abridge the Delays which must necessarily result from the Difficulty of Form which has been started by the Executive Directory.

He is authorised to add to this Demand the express Declaration, that His Majesty in communicating to his august Allies every successive Step which He may take, relative to the Object of the present Negotiation, and in fulfilling, towards these Sovereigns, in the most efficacious Manner, all the Duties of a good and faithful Ally, will omit nothing on his Part, as well to dispose them to concur in this Negotiation, by the Means the most proper to facilitate its Progress, and insure its Success, as to induce them always to persist in Sentiments conformable to the Wishes which He entertains for the Return of a general Peace, upon just, honourable, and permanent Conditions.

(Signed)

MALMESBURY.

Paris, November 12, 1796.

No. 17.

LE soussigné est chargé, par le Directoire Exécutif, de vous inviter à désigner, dans le plus court Délai, & nominativement, les Objets de Compensation réciproque que vous proposez.

Il est chargé, en outre, de vous demander quelles sont les Dispositions pour traiter sur une Base juste & équitable, dont sa Majesté l'Empereur & Roi a donné au Gouvernement Français une preuve si éclatante, au Moment même de l'Ouverture de cette Campagne. Le Directoire Exécutif l'ignore. C'est l'Empereur & Roi qui a rompu l'Armistice.

(Signé)

CH. DELACROIX.

Paris, le 22 Brumaire, An 5 de
la République Française.

No. 18.

LES soussigné n'hésite pas un Moment à répondre aux deux Questions que vous êtes chargé de lui faire de la Part du Directoire Exécutif.

Le Mémoire présenté ce Matin par le soussigné propose, en Termes exprès, de la Part de Sa Majesté le Roi de la Grande Bretagne, de compenser à la France, par des Restitutions proportionnelles, les Arrangemens auxquels elle devra consentir pour satisfaire aux justes Prétentions des Alliés du Roi, et pour conserver la Balance Politique de l'Europe.

Avant l'Acceptation formelle de ce Principe, ou l'Enonciation, de la Part du Directoire Exécutif, d'un autre quelconque, qui puisse

No. 17.

THE undersigned is charged, by the Executive Directory, to invite you to point out, without the smallest Delay, and expressly, the Objects of reciprocal Compensation which you propose.

He is, moreover, charged to demand of you, what are the Dispositions to treat, on a just and equitable Basis, of which His Majesty, the Emperor and King, gave to the French Government so striking a Proof, at the very Commencement of the Campaign. The Executive Directory is unacquainted with it.—It was the Emperor and King who broke the Armistice.

(Signed)

CH. DELACROIX.

Paris, 22 Brumaire (Nov. 12),
5th Year of the French Republic

No. 18.

THE undersigned does not hesitate a Moment to answer the Two Questions which you have been instructed by the Executive Directory to put to him.

The Memorial presented this Morning by the undersigned proposes, in express Terms, on the Part of His Majesty the King of Great Britain, to compensate France, by proportionable Restitutions, for the Arrangements to which she will be called upon to consent, in order to satisfy the just Pretensions of the King's Allies, and to preserve the Political Balance of Europe.

Before the formal Acceptation of this Principle, or the Proposal, on the Part of the Executive Directory, of some other Principle

No. 18. *continued.*

puisse également servir de Base à la Negociation d'une Paix générale, le soussigné ne faurait être autorisé à désigner les Objets de Compensation reciproque.

Quant à la Preuve de Dispositions pacifiques donnée au Gouvernement Français, par Sa Majesté l'Empereur et Roi, à l'ouverture de la Campagne, le soussigné se contente de rapeler les paroles suivantes, qui se trouvent dans la Note du Baron de Déglegman, du 4 Juin dernier.

“ Les Opérations de la Guerre n'empêcheront nullement que
“ Sa Majesté l'Imperiale ne soit toujours portée à concourir,
“ d'après telle Forme de Negociation qui sera adoptée, de Con-
“ cert entre les Parties Belligérantes, à la Discussion des Moyens
“ propres pour mettre fin à l'Effusion ultérieure du Sang hu-
“ main.”

Cette Note fut présentée après la Rupture de l'Armistice.

MALMESBURY.

Paris, ce 12 Novembre, 1796.

No. 18. *continued.*

Principle which might equally serve as the Basis of a Negotiation for a general Peace, the underigned cannot be authorized to designate the Objects of reciprocal Compensation.

As to the Proof of the pacific Dispositions given to the French Government by His Majesty, the Emperor and King, at the Opening of the Campaign, the underigned contents himself with a Reference to the following Words contained in the Note of Mr. D'Egleman, on the 4th of June last.

“ The Operations of the War will in no wise prevent His Imperial Majesty from being ever ready to concur, agreeably to any Form of Negotiation which might be adopted, in Concert with the Belligerent Powers, in the Discussion of proper Measures for putting a Stop to the farther Effusion of human Blood.”

This Note was presented after the Armistice was broken.

MALMESBURY

Paris, November 12, 1796.

No. 19.

LE Ministre Plénipotentiaire de Sa Majesté Britannique s'adresse au Ministre des Relations Extérieures pour le prier de l'informer s'il doit regarder la Note Officielle qu'il a reçue de sa Part, Hier au Soir, comme la Réponse à celle que Lord Malmesbury a remise, Hier Matin, au Ministre des Relations Extérieures par Ordre de sa Cour. Il fait cette Demande pour ne pas retarder inutilement le Départ de son Courrier.

MALMESBURY.

A Paris, ce 13 Novembre, 1796.

No. 20.

LE soussigné Ministre des Relations Extérieures, déclare au Lord Malmesbury, Plénipotentiaire de Sa Majesté Britannique, qu'il doit regarder la Note Officielle qu'il lui a transmise Hier, comme la Réponse à celle que le Lord Malmesbury lui avait adressé le Matin du même Jour.

Ce 23 Brumaire, An 5.

CH. DELACROIX.

No. 19.

THE Minister Plenipotentiary of His Britannick Majesty requests the Minister for Foreign Affairs to inform him whether he is consider the Official Note which he received from him Yesterday Evening, as the Answer to that which Lord Malmesbury delivered Yesterday Morning to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, by Order of his Court. He applies for this Information, that the Departure of his Courier may not be unnecessarily delayed.

MALMESBURY.

Paris, Nov. 13, 1796.

No. 20.

THE undersigned, Minister for Foreign Affairs, declares to Lord Malmesbury, Minister Plenipotentiary from His Britannick Majesty, that he is to consider the Official Note sent to him Yesterday as the Answer to that which Lord Malmebury had addressed to him on the Morning of the same Day.

CHARLES DELACROIX.

23 Brumaire, 5th Year.
November 13, 1796.

No. 21.

LE Lord Malmesbury vient de recevoir la Réponse du Ministre des Relations Extérieures, dans laquelle il déclare que la Note Officielle qu'il lui a transmise Hier, doit être regardée comme la Réponse à celle que Lord Malmesbury lui a adressée le Matin du même Jour.

Le Lord Malmesbury la communiquera dès aujourd'hui à sa Cour.

MALMESBURY.

Paris, ce 13 Novembre, 1796.

No. 22.

LE soussigné, en Réponse à votre Seconde Note d'Hier, est chargé par le Directoire Exécutif de vous déclarer qu'il n'a rien à ajouter à la Réponse qui vous a été adressée. Il est chargé également de vous demander si, à chaque Communication Officielle qui sera faite entre vous et lui, il sera nécessaire que vous envoyiez un Courrier pour recevoir des Instructions spéciales.

CH. LACROIX.

A Paris, le 23 Brumaire, An 5.

No. 23.

LE soussigné ne manquera pas de transmettre à sa Cour la Note qu'il vient de recevoir de la Part du Ministre des Relations Exterieures. Il déclare également qu'il sera dans le Cas d'expédier des Courriers à sa Cour chaque fois que les Communications Officielles qui lui seront faites exigeront des Instructions spéciales.

(Signé)

MALMESBURY.

Paris, 13 Nov. 1796.

No. 21.

LORD MALMESBURY has just received the Answer of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, in which he declares that the Official Note which he sent to him Yesterday, is to be considered as the Answer to that which Lord Malmesbury addressed to him on the Morning of the same Day.

Lord Malmesbury will transmit it, this Day, to his Court.

MALMESBURY.

Paris, Nov. 13, 1796.

No. 22.

THE undersigned, in Reply to your Second Note of Yesterday, is ordered, by the Executive Directory, to declare to you, that he has nothing to add to the Answer which has been addressed to you. He is also instructed to ask you, whether, on each Official Communication which shall take Place between you and him, it will be necessary for you to send a Courier to receive special Instructions?

CHARLES DELACROIX.

Paris, 23 Brumaire, (Nov. 13.) 5 Year.

No. 23.

THE undersigned will not fail to transmit to his Court the Note which he has just received from the Minister for Foreign Affairs. He declares likewise that he shall dispatch Couriers to his Court as often as the Official Communications made to him may require special Instructions.

(Signed)

MALMESBURY.

Paris, 13th Nov. 1796.

No. 24.

N O T E.

LA Cour de Londres, informée de ce qui s'est passé en Suite du dernier Mémoire remis par son Ordre au Ministre des Relations Extérieures, a trouvé qu'il n'y a absolument rien à ajouter à la Réponse faite par le soussigné aux deux Questions que le Directoire a jugé à propos de lui adresser.

Elle attend donc encore, & avec le plus grand Intérêt, l'Explanation des Sentimens du Directoire par rapport au Principe proposé de sa Part pour Base de la Négociation, & dont l'Adoption a paru le Moyen le plus propre pour accélérer le Progrès d'une Discussion si importante au Bonheur de tant de Nations.

Le soussigné a recu en Conséquence l'Ordre de renouveler la Demande d'une Réponse franche & précise sur cet Objet, afin que sa Cour puisse connaître avec Certitude si le Directoire accepte la dite Proposition ; s'il desire d'y apporter des Changemens ou Modifications quelconques ; ou enfin s'il voudrait proposer quelqu'autre Principe pour servir au même But.

(Signé)

MALMESBURY.

Paris, le 26 Novembre, 1796.

No. 25.

EN Réponse à la Note remise Hier, 26 Novembre (v. it.), 6 Frimaire, par le Lord Malmesbury, le soussigné Ministre des Relations Extérieures est chargé, par le Directoire Exécutif, d'observer que les Réponses faites les 5 & 22 Brumaire dernier, renfermaient la Reconnaissance du Principe de Compensation, & que pour ôter tout

No. 24.

NOTE.

THE Court of London, having been informed of what has passed in consequence of the last Memorial, delivered, by Its Order, to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, does not think it necessary to add any Thing to the Answer made by the Undersigned to the two Questions which the Directory thought proper to address to Him.

That Court waits therefore, and with the greatest Anxiety, for an Explanation of the Sentiments of the Directory, with regard to the Principle it has proposed, as the Basis of the Negotiation, and the Adoption of which appeared to be the best Means of accelerating the Progress of a Discussion so important to the Happiness of so many Nations.

The Undersigned has, in Consequence, received Orders to renew the Demand of a frank and precise Answer on this Point, in order that his Court may know, with Certainty, whether the Directory accepts that Proposal; or desires to make any Change or Modifications whatever in it; or lastly, whether it would wish to propose any other Principle, that may promote the same End.

MALMESBURY.

Paris, November 26, 1796.

No. 25.

IN Answer to the Note delivered Yesterday, November 26, by Lord Malmesbury, the Undersigned Minister for Foreign Affairs, is instructed, by the Directory, to observe, that the Answers made on the 5th and 22d of last Brumaire, contained an Acknowledgment of the Principle of Compensation, and that, in order to

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No. 25. *continued.*

tout Prétexte à Discussion ultérieure sur ce Point, la Soufflé, au Nom du Directoire Exécutif, en fait encore la Déclaration formelle & positive.

En conséquence le Lord Malmesbury est derechef invité à donner une Réponse prompte & cathégorique à la Proposition qui lui a été faite le 22 Brumaire dernier, & qui est conçue en ces Termes:—“ Le Soufflé est chargé par le Directoire Exécutif de vous inviter à désigner, dans le plus court Délai & nominativement, les Objets de Compensations réciproques que vous proposez.”

(Signé)

CH. DELACROIX.

Paris, le 7 Brumaire, an 5.

No. 26.

Le soufflé Ministre Plénipotentiaire de Sa Majesté Britannique, en Réponse à la Note, en date de ce Matin, qui lui a été remise de la Part du Ministre des Relations Extérieures, s'empresse de lui assurer qu'il ne tardera pas un Moment de la communiquer à sa Cour, dont il doit faire immédiatement attendre des Ordres ultérieurs, ayant de Pouvoir s'expliquer sur les Points importans qu'elle renferme.

(Signé)

MALMESBURY.

A Paris, ce 27 Novembre 1796.

No. 25. *continued.*

remove every Pretext for farther Discussion on that Point, the undersigned, in the Name of the Executive Directory, now makes a formal and positive Declaration of such Acknowledgment.

In Consequence, Lord Malmesbury is again invited to give a speedy and categorical Answer to the Proposal made to him on the 22d of last Brumaire, and which was conceived in these Terms: "The undersigned is instructed by the Executive Directory, to invite you to designate, without the least Delay, and expressly, the Objects of reciprocal Compensation which you have to propose."

CH. DELACROIX.

Paris, November 27.

No. 26.

THE undersigned Minister Plenipotentiary of His Britannick Majesty, in Answer to the Note dated this Morning, which was sent to him by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, hastens to assure him, that he will not delay a Moment in communicating it to his Court, from which he must necessarily wait for further Orders. Before he can explain himself upon the important Points which it contains.

(Signed)

MALMESBURY.

Paris, 27th Nov. 1796.

N O T E.

LE Soussigné est chargé de remettre au Ministre des Relations Extérieures le Mémoire ci-joint, contenant les Propositions de la Cour sur l'Application du Principe général déjà établi pour Bâse de Négociation pacifique. Il s'empêtrera d'entrer avec ce Ministre dans toutes les Explications que l'Etat et le Progrès de la Négociation pourraient admettre, et il ne manquera pas d'apporter à la Discussion de ces Propositions, ou de tel Contre Projet qui pourroit lui être remis de la Part du Directoire Executif, cette Franchise et cet Esprit de Conciliation qui répondent aux Sentimens justes et pacifiques de la Cour.

(Signé)

MALMESBURY.

A Paris, ce 17 Decembre, 1796.

No. 28.

MEMOIRE CONFIDENTIEL, sur les Objets principaux de Restitution, de Compensation et d'Arrangement réciproque.

LE Principe actuellement établi pour Bâse de la Négociation, par le Consentement des Deux Gouvernemens, porte sur des Restitutions à faire par Sa Majesté Britannique à la France, en Compensation d'Arrangemens auxquels cette Puissance consentiroit pour satisfaire aux justes Pretensions des Alliés du Roi, et pour conserver la Balance politique de l'Europe.

Pour remplir ces Objets de la Manière la plus complète, et pour offrir une nouvelle Preuve de la Sincérité de ses Vœux pour le Rétablissement de la Tranquillité générale, Sa Majesté proposeroit qu'il soit et donnée à ce Principe de Part d'autre toute l'Etendue dont il peut être susceptible.

I. Elle demande, donc,

1. La Restitution à Sa Majesté l'Empereur et Roi de tous ses Etats, sur le Pied de Possession avant la Guerre.
2. Le Rétablissement de la Paix entre l'Empire Germanique et la France, par un Arrangement convenable et conforme aux Intérêts respectifs, aussi bien qu'à la Sureté générale de l'Europe. Cet Arrangement seroit traité avec Sa Majesté Imperiale, comme Chef constitutionnel de l'Empire, soit par l'Intervention du Roi, soit directement, selon que Sa Majesté Imperiale le preferera.

3. L'Evacuation

N O T E.

THE undersigned is charged to transmit to the Minister of Foreign Affairs the enclosed Memorial, containing the Proposals of his Court, with respect to the Application of the general Principle already established, as the Basis of the Negotiation for Peace.

He will, with the utmost Readiness, enter with that Minister into every Explanation which the State and Progress of the Negotiation will allow, and he will not fail to enter into the Discussion of these Propositions, or of any Counter-Project which may be transmitted to him on the Part of the Executive Directory, with that Frankness and that Spirit of Conciliation, which correspond with the just and pacific Intentions of his Court.

(Signed) MALMSEURY.

Paris, December 17, 1796.

No 28.

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORIAL, on the principal Objects of Restitution, Compensation, and reciprocal Arrangement.

THE Principle, already established, as the Basis of the Negotiation, by the Consent of the two Governments, is founded on Restitutions to be made by his Britannic Majesty to France, in Compensation for the Arrangements to which that Power may consent, in order to satisfy the just Pretensions of the Allies of the King, and to preserve the political Balance of Europe.

In Order to accomplish these Objects, in the Manner the most complete, and to offer a fresh Proof of the Sincerity of his Wishes for the Re-establishment of general Tranquillity, His Majesty would propose, that there should be given to this Principle, on each Side, all the Latitude of which it may be susceptible.

I. His Majesty demands therefore,

1. The Restitution, to His Majesty the Emperor and King, of all his Dominions, on the Footing of the *Status ante Bellum*.

2. The Re-establishment of Peace between the Germanic Empire and France, by a suitable Arrangement, conformable to the respective Interests, and to the general Safety of Europe. This Arrangement to be negotiated with his Imperial Majesty, as constitutional Head of the Empire, either by the Intervention of the King, or immediately, as his Imperial Majesty shall prefer.

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III. The

3. L'Evacuation de l'Italie par les Troupes Françaises, avec l'Engagement de ne pas intervenir dans les Affaires intérieures de ce Pays, que feroit remis, en autant que possible sur le Pied du Status ante Bellum.

Dans le Cours de la Negociation l'on pourroit discuter plus en Détail les Méasures ultérieures que l'on pourroit adopter sur les Objets de ces Trois Articles, pour pourvoir plus efficacement à la Sureté future des Limites et Possessions respectives, et au Maintien de la Tranquillité générale.

II. Quant à ce que regarde les autres Alliés de Sa Majesté Britannique, Elle demande qu'il soit réservée à Sa Majesté l'Imperatrice de toutes les Ruffies la Faculté pleine et illimitée d'intervenir à cette Negociation, dès qu'elle le jugera à propos, ou bien, d'accéder au Traité D'finalité, et de rentrer par là, dans un Etat de Paix avec la France.

III. Sa Majesté demande pareillement que Sa Majesté Très Fidele puisse aussi être comprise dans la Negociation, et rentrer en Paix avec la France, sans qu'il soit Question d'aucune Cession ou Condition onéreuse du part ou d'autre.

IV. A ces Conditions Sa Majesté offre à la France la Restitution entière et sans Reserve de tout ce qu'elle a conquis sur cette Puissance dans les Deux Indes : En lui proposant toutefois de s'entendre mutuellement sur les Moyens d'assurer pour l'avenir la Tranquillité des Deux Nations, et de consolider, autant que possible, les Avantages de leurs Possessions respectives. Elle offre pareillement la Restitution des Isles de St. Pierre et Miquelon, et de la Pêche de Terre Neuve, sur le Pied du Status ante Bellum.

Mais si Elle devoit en outre, se départir du Droit que lui donnent les Stipulations expresses du Traité d'Utrecht de S'opposer à ce que la Partie Espagnole de St. Domingue puisse être cédée à la France, elle demanderoit alors, en retour de cette Concession, une Compensation qui pourroit assurer au moins en Partie, le Maintien de la Balance des Possessions respectives dans cette Partie du Monde.

V. Dans tous les Cas des Cessions ou Restitutions, dont il pourroit être Question dans cette Negociation, on accorderoit de Part et d'autre la Faculté la plus illimitée à tous les Particuliers de se retirer avec leurs Familles et leurs Effets, et de vendre leurs Terres et autres Biens immeubles. Et l'on prendroit par illement, dans le Cours de la Negociation, des Arrangements convenables pour la Levée des Sequestrations, et pour satisfaire aux justes Réclamations que, des Individus, de Part et d'autre, pourroient avoir à faire aux Gouvernements respectifs.

(Signed)

MALMESBURY.

3. The Evacuation of Italy by the French Troops, with an Engagement not to interfere in the internal Affairs of that Country; which should be re-established, as far as possible, upon the Footing of the *Status ante Bellum*.

In the Course of the Negotiation, a more detailed Discussion may be entered into of the further Measures, which it may be proper to adopt, respecting the Objects of these three Articles, in order to the providing more effectually for the future Security of the respective Limits and Possessions, and for the Maintenance of general Tranquillity.

II. With regard to the other Allies of His Britannic Majesty, His Majesty demands, that there be reserved to her Majesty the Empress of all the Russias, a full and unlimited Power, of taking Part in this Negotiation, whenever she may think fit, or of acceding to the definitive Treaty, and thereby returning to a State of Peace with France.

III. His Majesty also demands, that Her Most Faithful Majesty may be comprehended in this Negotiation, and may return to a State of Peace with France, without any Cession or burthensome Condition on either Side.

IV. On these Conditions, His Majesty offers to France the entire and unreserved Restitution of all the Conquests which He has made on that Power in the East and West Indies, providing at the same Time that a mutual Understanding should be established as to the Means of securing for the future the Tranquillity of the Two Nations, and of consolidating, as much as possible, the Advantages of their respective Possessions. His Majesty offers, in like Manner, the Restitution of the Islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, and of the Fishery of Newfoundland, on the Footing of the *Status ante Bellum*.

But if, in Addition to this, His Majesty were to waive the Right given to Him by the express Stipulations of the Treaty of Utrecht, of opposing the Cession of the Spanish Port of St. Domingo to France, His Majesty would then demand, in Return for this Concession, a Compensation, which might secure, at least in some Degree, the Maintenance of the Balance of the respective Possessions in that Part of the World.

V. In all the Cases of Cessions or Restitutions, which may come in question in the Course of this Negotiation, there should be granted on each Side, to all Individuals, the most unlimited Right to withdraw with their Families and their Property, and to sell their Land and other immovable Possessions; and adequate Arrangements should also be made, in the Course of this Negotiation, for the Removal of all Sequestrations, and for the Satisfaction of the just Claims, which Individuals on either Side may have to make upon the respective Governments.

(Signed)

MALMSEURY.

MEMOIRE CONFIDENTIEL, sur la Paix avec l'Espagne et la Hollande.

LES Alliés de la France n'ayant temoigné jusqu'ici aucun Desir ni Disposition pour traiter avec le Roi, Sa Majesté auroit pu fe dispenser d'entrer dans aucun Detail à leur egard. Mais pour eviter des Delais nuisibles au grand Object que le Roi se propose, et pour accélérer l'OEuvre de la Paix Générale, Sa Majesté ne refusera pas de 'expliquer d'avances sur ce qui regarde ces Puissances.

Si donc le Roi Catholique desireroit d'être compris dans la Negociation ou de pouvoir accéder au Traité Definitif, Sa Majesté Britannique ne s'y refuseroit pas. Aucune Conquête n'ayant été faite jusqu'ici par l'un de ces Deux Souverains sur l'autre, il ne seroit Question dans ce Moment que de rétablir la Paix simplement et sans Restitution ou Compensation quelconque, excepté ce qui pourroit peut être résulter de l'Application du Principe énoncé sur la fin de l'Article 4^{me} du Memoire déjà remis au Ministre des Relations Extérieures. Mais si pendant la Negociation l'état des Choses à cet egard venoit à changer, on devra alors convenir des Restitutions et Compensations à faire de part et d'autre.

Pour ce qui regarde la Republique des Provinces Unies, Sa Majesté Britannique et ses Alliés se trouvent trop directement interessés à la Situation politique de ces Provinces pour pouvoir consentir à rétablir à leur Egard le Status ante Bellum territorial, à moins que la France ne pût également les remettre à tous Egards, dans la même Position politique où Elles se trouvoient avant la Guerre. Si on pouvoit au Moins retablir dans ces Provinces, conformément à ce que l'on croit être le Voeu de la grande Majorité des Habitans, leur ancienne Constitution et Forme de Gouvernement, Sa Majesté Britannique seroit disposée à se relâcher alors en leur Faveur sur une Partie très considérable des Conditions sur lesquelles l'Etat actuel des Choses lui impose la Nécessité d'insister. Mais si au contraire, c'est avec la Republique Hollandaise, dans son Etat actuel, que Leurs Majestés Britannique et Imperiale auront à traiter, Elles se verront obligées de chercher dans des Acquisitions Territoriales les Compensations et la Sureté que cet Etat des Choses leur rendroit indispensable.

Des Restitutions quelconques en Faveur de la Hollande ne pourroient alors avoir lieu qu'en autant qu'Elles seroient compensées par des Arrangemens propres à contribuer à la Sureté des Païs Bas Autrichiens.

No. 29.

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORIAL on the Peace with
Spain and Holland.

THE Allies of France not having hitherto expressed any Desire, or Disposition, to treat with the King, His Majesty might have forbore to enter into any Detail on their Account; but in order to avoid any Delays prejudicial to the great Object which the King has in View, and to accelerate the Work of a General Peace, His Majesty will not refuse to explain himself in the first Instance on the Points which concern those Powers. If then, the Catholic King should desire to be comprehended in this Negotiation, or to be allowed to accede to the Definitive Treaty, this would meet with no Obstacle on the Part of His Majesty. Nothing having hitherto been conquered by either of the Two Sovereigns from the other, no other Point could, at the present Moment, come into Question but that of the Re-establishment of Peace, simply, and without any Restitution or Compensation whatever, except such as might possibly result from the Application of the Principle declared at the End of the Fourth Article of the Memorial already delivered to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

But if, during the Negotiation, any Alteration should take place in the State of Things, in this Respect, it will then be proper to agree upon the Restitutions and Compensations to be made on each Side.

With Regard to the Republic of the United Provinces, His Britannic Majesty and his Allies find themselves too nearly interested in the political Situation of those Provinces to be able to consent in their Favour to the Re-establishment of the Status ante Bellum as with respect to territorial Possessions, unless France could, on her Part, reinstate them in all Respects in the same political Situation in which they stood before the War.

If at least it were possible to re-establish in those Provinces, agreeably to what is believed to be the Wish of a great Majority of the Inhabitants, their ancient Constitution and Form of Government, His Majesty might then be disposed to relax, in their Favour, from a very considerable Part of the Conditions on which the present State of Things obliges him to insist.

But if, on the contrary, it is with the Republic of Holland, in its present State, that their Britannic and Imperial Majesties will have to treat, they will feel themselves obliged to seek in territorial Acquisitions, those Compensations, and that Security, which such a State of Things will have rendered indispensable to them.

No. 29. *continued.*

Les Moyens de remplir cet Objet se trouveront dans les Cessions, que la France a exigées dans son Traité de Paix avec la Hollande, et dont la Possession par cette Puissance seroit en tout Cas absolument incompatible avec la Sureté des Païs Bas Autrichiens entre les Mains de Sa Majesté Imperiale.

C'est sur ces Principes que Sa Majesté Britannique seroit prête à traiter pour le Rétablissement de la Paix avec la Republique Hollandoise dans son Etat actuel. Les Details d'une pareille Discussion ameneroient nécessairement la Consideration de ce qui seroit dû aux Interêts et aux Droits de la Maison d'Orange.

No. 29. *continued.*

Restitutions of any Kind, in Favour of Holland, could in that Case be admitted in so far only as they shall be compensated by Arrangements calculated to contribute to the Security of the Austrian Netherlands. The Means of accomplishing this Object will be found in the Cessions which France has exacted in her Treaty of Peace with Holland, and the Possession of which by that Power would in any Case be absolutely incompatible with the Security of the Austrian Netherlands, in the Hands of His Imperial Majesty.

It is on these Principles that His Britannic Majesty would be ready to treat for the Re-establishment of Peace with the Republic of Holland in its present State.—The Details of such a Discussion must necessarily lead to the Consideration of what would be due to the Interests and the Rights of the House of Orange.

My Lord,

Paris, December 20, 1796.

MR. Ellis returned here from London on Thursday last the 15th Instant, at Five P. M. and delivered to me the Dispatches No. 11 and 12, with which he was charged by your Lordship.

Although nothing can be clearer, more ably drawn up, or more satisfactory than the Instructions they contain, yet as it was of the last Importance that I should be completely Master of the Subject before I saw the French Minister, I delayed asking for a Conference till late on Friday Evening, with a View that it should not take Place till Saturday Morning.

He appointed the Hour of Eleven A. M. on that Day, and it was near One before we parted. Although what is said by M. Delacroix before he has communicated with the Directory cannot be considered as officially binding, and probably may, in the Event, be very different from what I shall hear when he speaks to me in their Name, yet as it is impossible they should not nearly conjecture the Nature of the Overtures I should make, and of course be prepared in some Degree for them, it is material that your Lordship should be accurately acquainted with the first Impressions they appear to make on M. Delacroix.

I prefaced what I had to communicate with saying, that I now came authorized to enter with him into Deliberation upon one of the most important Subjects that perhaps ever was brought into Discussion—that it's Magnitude forbade all *Fineffe*, excluded all Prevarication, suspended all Prejudices, and that as I had it in Command to speak and act with Freedom and Truth, I expected that he, on his Part, would consider these as the only Means which could or ought to be employed if he wished to see a Negotiation, in which the Happiness of Millions was involved, terminate successfully. That, for greater Precision, and with a View to be clearly understood in what I was about to propose, I would give him a Confidential Memorial, accompanied by an Official Note, both which, when he had perused them, would speak for themselves. The Memorial contained the Conditions, on the Accomplishment of which His Majesty considered the Restoration of Peace to depend. The Note was expressive of His Majesty's Readiness to enter into any Explanation required by the Directory on the Subject, or to receive any *Contre-Projet*, resting on the same Basis, which the Directory might be disposed to give in. That, moreover, I did not hesitate declaring to him, in conformity to the Principles which I had laid down, and from which I certainly never should depart, at any Period of the Negotiation, that I was prepared to answer any Questions, explain and elucidate any Points, on which

which it was possible to foresee that Doubts or Misconceptions could arise on the Consideration of these Papers. And having said thus much, I had only to remark, that I believed, in no similar Negotiation which had ever taken Place, any Minister was authorized, in the first Instance, to go so fully into the Discussion as I now was.—That I was sure neither the Truth of this Remark, nor the manifest Conclusion to be drawn from it, would escape M. Delacroix's Observation.

I then put the Two Papers into his Hands. He began by reading the Note, on which of Course he could only express Satisfaction. After perusing the Confidential Memorial with all the Attention it deserved, he, after a short Pause, said, that it appeared to him to be liable to insurmountable Objections ; that it seemed him to require much more than it conceded, and, in the Event, not to leave France in a Situation of proportional Greatness to the Powers of Europe. He said, the Act of their Constitution, according to the Manner in which *it was interpreted by the best Publicists*, (and this Phrase is worthy Remark) made it impossible for the Republic to do what we required. The Austrian Netherlands were annexed to it ; they could not be disposed of without flinging the Nation into all the Confusion which must follow a Convocation of the primary Assemblies ; and he said, he was rather surprized that Great Britain should bring this forward as the governing Condition of the Treaty, since he thought he had, in some of our late Conversations, fully explained the Nature of their Constitution to me. I replied, that every Thing I had heard from him on this Point was perfectly in my Recollection, as it probably was in his that though I had listened to him with that Attention I always afforded to every Thing he said, yet I had never made him any Sort of Reply, and had neither admitted nor controverted his Opinion : That although I believed I could easily disprove this Opinion from the Spirit of the French Constitution itself ; yet the Discussion of that Constitution was perfectly foreign to the Object of my Mission ; since, even allowing his Two Positions, viz. that the Retrocession of the Austrian Netherlands was incompatible with their Laws, and that we ought to have known that beforehand ; yet that there existed a *Droit public* in Europe, paramount to any *Droit public* they might think proper to establish within their own Dominions ; and that if their Constitution was publicly known, the Treaties existing between His Majesty and the Emperor were at least equally public, and in these it was clearly and distinctly enounced, that the Two Contracting Parties reciprocally promise not to lay down their Arms without the Restitution of all the Dominions, Territories, &c. which may have belonged to either of them before the War. That the Date of this Stipulation was previous to their annexing the Austrian Netherlands to France ; and the Notoriety of this ought, at the very Moment when they had passed that Law, to have convinced

them, that, if adhered to, it must prove an insurmountable Obstacle to Peace. I applied his Maxim to the West India Islands, and to the Settlements in the East Indies; and asked him, whether it was expected that we were to waive our Right of Possession, and be required still to consider them as integral Parts of the French Republic which *must* be restored, and on which no Value was to be set in the Balance of Compensation. I also stated the possible Case of France having lost Part of what she deemed her integral Dominions, instead of having added to them, in the Course of the War, and whether then, under the Apprehension of still greater Losses, the Government, as it was now composed, should consider itself as not vested with Powers sufficient to save their Country from the impending Danger, by making Peace on the Conditions of sacrificing a Portion of their Dominions to save the Remainder. M. Delacroix said, this was stating a Case of Necessity, and such a Mode of Reasoning did not attach to the present Circumstances. I readily admitted the first Part of this Proposition, but contended, that if the Power existed in a Case of Necessity, it equally existed in all others, and particularly in the Case before us, since he himself had repeatedly told me that Peace was what this Country and its Government wished for, and even wanted.

M. Delacroix, in Reply, shifted his Ground, and by a String of Arguments founded on Premises calculated for this Purpose, attempted to prove, that from the relative Situation of the adjacent Countries, the present Government of France would be reprehensible in the Extreme, and deserve Impeachment, if they ever suffered the Netherlands to be separated from their Dominions; that by the Partition of Poland, Russia, Austria and Prussia had increased their Power to a most formidable Degree; that England, by its Conquests, and by the Activity and Judgment with which it governed its Colonies, had doubled its Strength.—Your Indian Empire alone, said M. Delacroix with Vehemence, has enabled you to subsidize all the Powers of Europe against us, and your Monopoly of Trade has put you in Possession of a Fund of inexhaustible Wealth. His Words were, “*Votre Empire dans l'Inde vous a fourni les Moyens de salarier toutes les Puissances contre nous, et vous avez accaparé le Commerce de Manière que toutes les Richesses du Monde se versent dans vos Coffres.*”

From the Necessity that France should keep the Netherlands and the Left Bank of the Rhine for the Purpose of preserving its relative Situation in Europe, he passed to the Advantages which he contended would result to the other Powers by such an Addition to the French Dominions. Belgium (to use his Word) by belonging to France, would remove what had been the Source of all Wars for

for Two Centuries past, and the Rhine, being the natural Boundary of France, would ensure the Tranquillity of Europe for Two Centuries to come. I did not feel it necessary to combat this preposterous Doctrine; I contented myself with reminding him of what he had said to me in one of our last Conferences, when he made a Comparison of the Weakness of France under its Monarchs, and its Strength and Vigour under its Republican Form of Government. "*Nous ne sommes plus dans la Décrépitude de la France Monarchique, mais dans toute la Force d'une République adolescente,*" was his Expression; and I inferred from this, according to his own Reasoning, that the Force and Power France had acquired by its Change of Government was much greater than it could derive from any Acquisition of Territory; and that it followed, if France when under a Regal Form of Government was a very just and constant Object of Attention, not to say of Jealousy, to the other Powers of Europe, France (admitting his Axiom) was a much more reasonable Object of Jealousy and Attention under its present Constitution than it ever had yet been, and that no Addition to its Dominions could be seen by its Neighbours but under Impressions of Alarm for their own future Safety and for the general Tranquillity of Europe. M. Delacroix's Answer to this was so remarkable that I must beg Leave to insert it in what I believe to be nearly his own Words.—"*Dans le Tems Révolutionnaire tout ce que vous dites, my Lord, étoit vrai—rien n'égaloit notre Puissance; mais ce tems n'existe plus. Nous ne pouvons plus lever la Nation en Masse pour valer au Secours de la Patrie en Danger. Nous ne pouvons plus engager nos Concitoyens d'ouvrir leurs Bourses pour les verser dans le Trésor National, et de se priver même du nécessaire pour le Bien de la Chose Publique.*"—And he ended by saying, that the French Republick when at Peace necessarily must become the most quiet and pacific Power in Europe. I only observed, that in this Case the Passage of the Republick from Youth to Decrepitude had been very sudden; but that still I never could admit that it could be a Matter of Indifference to its Neighbours, much less one necessary Security to itself, to acquire such a very extensive Addition to its Frontiers as that he had hinted at.

This led Mons. Delacroix to talk of offering an Equivalent to the Emperor for the Austrian Netherlands, and it was to be found, according to his Plan, in the Secularization of the Three Ecclesiastical Electorates, and several Bishopricks in Germany and in Italy.

He talked upon this Subject as one very familiar to him, and on which his Thoughts had been frequently employed.

He spoke of making new Electors, and named, probably with a View to render his Scheme more palatable, the Stadholder and the Dukes of Brunswick and Wurtemberg as Persons proper to replace the three Ecclesiastical Electors which were to be re-formed.

It would be making an ill Use of your Lordship's Time to endeavour to repeat to you all he said on this Subject; it went in Substance (as he himself confessed) to the total Subversion of the present Constitution of the Germanic Body; and as it militated directly against the Principle which both His Majesty and the Emperor laid down so distinctly as the Basis of the Peace to be made for the Empire, I contented myself with reminding him of this Circumstance, particularly as it is impossible to discuss this Point with any Propriety till His Imperial Majesty becomes a Party to the Negotiation. I took this Opportunity of hinting, that if on all the other Points France agreed to the Proposals now made, it would not be impossible that some Increase of Territory might be ceded to her on the Germanic Side of her Frontiers, and that this, in Addition to the Dutchy of Savoy, Nice, and Avignon, would be a very great Acquisition of Strength and Power. Mons. Delacroix here again reverted to the Constitution, and said that these Countries were already constitutionally annexed to France. I replied, that it was impossible, in the Negotiation which we were beginning, for the other Powers to take it up from any Period but that which immediately preceded the War, and that any Acquisition or Diminution of Territory which had taken Place among the Belligerent Powers since it first broke out, must necessarily become Subject Matter for Negotiation, and be balanced against each other in the final Arrangement of a General Peace. You then persist, said M. Delacroix, in applying this Principle to Belgium? I answered, most certainly; and I should not deal fairly with you if I hesitated to declare, in the Outset of our Negotiation, that on this Point you must entertain no Expectation that His Majesty will relax or ever consent to see the Netherlands remain a Part of France.

M. Delacroix replied, he saw no Prospect in this Case of our Ideas ever meeting, and he despaired of the Success of our Negotiation. He returned again, however, to his Idea of a possible Equivalent to be found for the Emperor; but as all he proposed was the Alienation or Dismemberment of Countries not belonging to France, even by Conquest, I did not consider it as deserving Attention, and it is certainly not worth repeating your Lordship.

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I need not observe that all the Equivalents proposed, however inadequate to the Exchange, were offered as a Return for our Consent that the Netherlands should remain Part of France, of course the admitting them in any Shape would have been in direct Contradiction to my Instructions.

M. Delacroix touched very slightly on Italy; and the Course of our Conversation did not bring this Part of the Subject more into Discussion.

I must add, that whenever I mentioned the Restoration of the Netherlands to the Emperor, I always took Care it should be understood that these were to be accompanied by such further Cessions as should form a competent Line of Defence, and that France could not be permitted to keep Possession of all the intermediate Country to the Rhine; and I particularly dwelt on this Point, when I held out the Possibility of admitting an Extension of the Limits of France on the Side of Germany. But as the French Minister no less strenuously opposed the Restitution of the Netherlands to the Emperor, than I tenaciously insisted upon it, the further Extension of my Claim could not of course become a Subject of Argument.

I believe I have now, with a tolerable Degree of Accuracy, informed your Lordship of all that the French Minister said on my opening myself to him on that Part of my Instructions which more immediately relates to Peace between Great Britain, His Imperial Majesty and France. It remains with me to inform your Lordship what passed between us on the Subject of our respective Allies.

On the Articles reserving a Right to the Court of St. Petersburg and to that of Lisbon to accede to the Treaty of Peace on the strict Status ante Bellum, the French Minister made no other Remark than by mentioning the Allies of the Republic, and by enquiring whether I was prepared to say any thing relative to their Interests, which certainly the Republic could never abandon. This afforded me the Opportunity of giving in the confidential Memorial B. relative to Spain and Holland, and I prefaced it by repeating to him the Substance of the first Part of your Lordship's No. 12.

Although I had touched upon the Subject of the Spanish Part of St. Domingo, when I had been speaking to M. Delacroix on the Peace with France, yet, as it did not become a Matter of Discussion between us till I came to mention the Peace with Spain, I thought it better to place all that passed on the Subject in this Part of my Dispatch; it was the only Point on which he entered, but I by no means infer from his not bringing forward some Claims for

Spain, that we are not to hear of any in the Course of the Negotiation; on the contrary, I have little Doubt that many, and most of them inadmissible, will be made before it can end. He, however, was silent on them at this Moment, and confined what he had to say to combating the Idea that Spain was bound by the Treaty of Utrecht not to alienate her Possessions in America. I had the Article copied in my Pocket, and I read it to him. He confessed it was clear and explicit, but that Circumstances had so materially altered since the Year 1713, that Engagements made then ought not to be considered as in Force now. I said that the Spirit of the Article itself went to provide for distant Contingencies, not for what was expected to happen at or near the Time when the Treaty was made, and that it was because the Alteration of Circumstances he alluded to was foreseen as possible that the Clause was inserted, and that if Spain paid any regard to the Faith of Treaties, she must consider herself as no less strictly bound by this Clause now, than at the Moment when it was drawn up. I went on by saying, that it did not however appear quite impossible that this Point might be settled without much Difficulty; and that Means might be devised that His Catholic Majesty should not break his Faith, and both England and France be equally satisfied. I then held out to him, but in general Terms, that either Spain might regain her Part of St. Domingo, by making some considerable Cession to Great Britain and France, as the Price of Peace, or that, in return for leaving the whole of St. Domingo to France, we should retain either Martinico or St. Lucia and Tobago. M. Delacroix listened with a Degree of Attention to these Proposals, but he was fearful of committing himself by any Expression of Approbation, and he dismissed the Subject of the Court of Madrid, by observing, that France never would forsake the Interests of its Allies.

Our Conversation on those of it's other Ally, Holland, was much longer, as the Wording of the Memorial inevitably led at once deep into the Subject.

M. Delacroix affected to treat any Deviation from the Treaty of Peace concluded between France and that Country, or any Restoration of Territories acquired under that Treaty to France, as quite impracticable. He treated as equally impracticable any Attempt at restoring the ancient Form of Government in the Seven United Provinces. He talked with an Air of Triumph of the Establishment of a National Convention at the Hague, and with an Affectation of Feeling, that by it the Cause of Freedom had extended itself over such a large Number of People. He, however, was ready to confess, that from the great Losses the Dutch Republic had sustained in it's Colonies, and particularly from the weak Manner in which they had defended them, it could not be expected that

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His Majesty would consent to a full and complete Restitution of them, and that it was reasonable that some should be sacrificed; and he asked me if I could inform him, how far our Views extended on this Point? I said I had Reason to believe that what His Majesty would require would be Possessions and Settlements which would not add either to the Power or Wealth of our Indian Dominions, but only tend to secure to us their safe and un molested Possession. You mean by this, said M. Delacroix, the Cape and Trincomale. I said they certainly came under that Description, and I saw little Prospect of their being restored to the Dutch. M. Delacroix launched forth on this into a most laboured Dissertation on the Value of the Cape of Good Hope, which he did not consider at all as a *Port de Relache*, but as a Possession which, in our Hands, would become one of the most fertile and most productive Colonies in the East; and, according to his Estimation of it, he did not scruple to assert, that it would ultimately be an Acquisition of infinitely greater Importance to England than that of the Netherlands to France; and, if acquiesced in, should be reckoned as a full and ample Compensation for them. He added, if you are Masters of the Cape and Trincomale we shall hold all our Settlements in India, and the Islands of France and Bourbon, entirely at the Tenure of your Will and Pleasure; they will be our's only as long as you chuse we should retain them. You will be sole Masters in India, and we shall be entirely dependent upon you. I repeated to him, that it was as Means of Defence, not of Offence, that these Possessions would be insisted on, and that if the Matter was fairly and dispassionately discussed, he would find that they afforded us a great additional Security, but no additional Power of Attack, even if we were disposed to disturb the Peace of that Part of the World. If these, and perhaps some few other not very material Settlements belonging to the Dutch, were to be insisted upon, and if he would be pleased to enumerate all we should still have to restore to them, while they had nothing to restore to England, it was impossible not to consider the Terms on which His Majesty proposed Peace to Holland as generous and liberal.

M. Delacroix was not at all disposed to agree with me on this Point, and said, Holland, except of these Possessions, would be ruined. He then held out, but as if the Idea had just crossed his Mind, the Possibility of indemnifying the Dutch for their Losses in India, by giving them a Tract of Territory towards the Meuse, (I could not find out whether he meant Aix la Chapelle, Liege or the Countries of Juliers and Berg) and hinted, that if this was not to be done, an additional Sugar Island might, perhaps, be ceded to the Dutch Republic. I told him all this might become a Subject of future Discussion, and I conceived, that if we could agree upon

upon the more essential Points the Treaty would not break off on these secondary Considerations. Our Conversation had now been extremely long, and M. Delacroix ended by saying, that although he had taken upon himself to enter with me thus far upon the Subject, yet I must not consider any Thing he said as binding, or as pledging the Republic, till such Time as he had laid the Papers I had given him before the Directory ; and, in order to do this with more Accuracy, he again asked me, whether in his Report he was to state the disuniting Belgum from France as a *Sine quâ non* from which His Majesty would not depart. I replied, it most certainly was a *Sine quâ non* from which His Majesty would not depart ; and that any Proposal which would leave the Netherlands annexed to France would be attended with much greater Benefit to that Power, and Loss to the Allies, than the present relative Situation of the Belligerent Powers could entitle the French Government to expect.

M. Delacroix repeated his Concern at the peremptory Way in which I made this Assertion, and asked whether it would admit of no Modification ? I replied, if France could, in a *Contre Projet*, point out a practicable and adequate one, still keeping in View that the Netherlands must not be French, or likely again to fall into the Hands of France, such a Proposal might certainly be taken into Consideration.

Mr. Delacroix by no Means encouraged me to explain myself more fully ; he repeatedly said that this Difficulty relative to the Netherlands was one which could not be overcome.

Just as I was taking Leave of him, he begged me to explain what was meant by the Words in the Memoire (A) in the 4th Paragraph, beginning *de s'entendre mutuellement sur les Moyens d'assurer*, and ending at *Leurs Possessions respectives*. I told him it referred to the destructive System adopted by France in the West Indies, and went to express a Wish, that the Two Powers should agree on some general and uniform System of internal Police in the Settlements there, which would contribute to the Security of these Possessions to the respective Countries, and at the same Time to the Happiness of every Description of Inhabitants in them.

M. Delacroix, a little hurt at my Expression relative to the System adopted by France, endeavoured to recriminate on us ; but he ended by saying, that they should certainly be willing to concur in any Arrangement relative to the Negroes which did not militate against the Principles of their Constitution. Here our Conference ended, and as, during the whole Course of it, I bore in

in my Mind the Possibility, that although this our first might be the only favourable Opportunity I should ever have of speaking on the general Principles on which His Majesty was disposed to treat, I endeavoured, by advertizing more or less to almost every Point in my Instructions, to enable M. Delacroix (if he reports faithfully) to state to the Directory what I said in such a Manner as to put it out of their Power to misconceive what were His Majesty's Intentions, to remove all Possibility of Cavil on this Case, and to bring them to a clear and distinct Answer whether they would agree to open a Negotiation on the Principle of the *Status ante Bellum*, or on one differing from it only in Form, not in Substance. I hope in attempting to do this I did not, in the first Instance, commit myself, or discover more of my Instructions than it became me do, and that in the Conversation with M. Delacroix nothing escaped me which might, at some subsequent Period, hurt the Progress of the Negotiation. I have, I believe, given this Conference nearly verbatim to your Lordship; and I was particularly anxious to do this correctly and minutely, as well that you may judge on the Propriety of what I said myself, as that what M. Delacroix said to me may be accurately known, and remain on Record.

It must, however, be remembered (as I observed in the Beginning of this Dispatch) that he spoke from himself, as Minister indeed but not under the immediate Instructions of the Directory, and this Consideration will take a little away from the Singularity of some of the Positions he advanced.

I confess, my Lord, from the Civility of his Manners, and from his apparent Readiness to discuss the Subject, the Impression which remained on my Mind on leaving him was that the Negotiation would go on, but be liable to so many Difficulties, and some of them so nearly insurmountable, that knowing as I do the Opinion of the Directory, I saw little Prospect of its terminating successfully.—But I did not expect the Conduct of the Directory would immediately be such as to evince a manifest Indignation, and even Determination, to break off on the first Proposals; and I was not a little surprized at receiving, on Sunday, at Three P. M. the inclosed Letter A from M. Delacroix: He sent it by the Principal Secretary of his Department (M. Guiraudet) who communicated to me the Original of the Arrêté of the Directory, of which this Letter, abating the Alteration in the Form, is a literal Copy. After perusing it, I asked M. Guiraudet whether he was informed of its Contents, and this led to a short Conversation on them. I told him that both the Demands were so unexpected that I could not reply to them off Hand: That as to the first, it was quite unusual to sign Memorials which were annexed to a Note actually signed, and that I scarcely felt myself authorized to depart

No. 30, *continued.*

from what was, I believe, an invariable Rule. That as to the second Demand, made in so peremptory and unprecedented a Way, I could without much Hesitation say at once that it could not be complied with. Mons. Guiraudet lamented this much, and said, that this being the Case he feared our Principles of Negotiation would never coincide. I agreed with him in my Expressions of Concern. We conversed together afterwards for some Time, but nothing passed at all worthy Remark. I told him I should send my Answer the next Day. On reflecting more attentively on the Request that I would sign the Two Memorials which I had given in, it struck me that the Complying with it pledged me to nothing, that it was merely gratifying them on a Point insisted on peevishly, and that the doing it would put them still more in the Wrong.

As to the strange Demand of an Ultimatum, it was perfectly clear what it became me to say, and I hope that in the inclosed Answer B. (which I sent Yesterday Morning at Twelve o'Clock) to M. Delacroix, I shall be found to have adhered as closely as possible to the Spirit of my Instructions.

Yesterday Evening, at Half past Nine, M. Guiraudet brought me the Note C. to which I immediately replied by the Note D. They require no Comment; and as I intend leaving Paris Tomorrow, and travelling with all convenient Speed, I shall so soon have it in my Power to say the little which remains to say relative to this sudden though perhaps not unlooked-for Close to my Mission, that I need not trespass any further on your Lordship's Patience.

I have the Honour to be, &c.

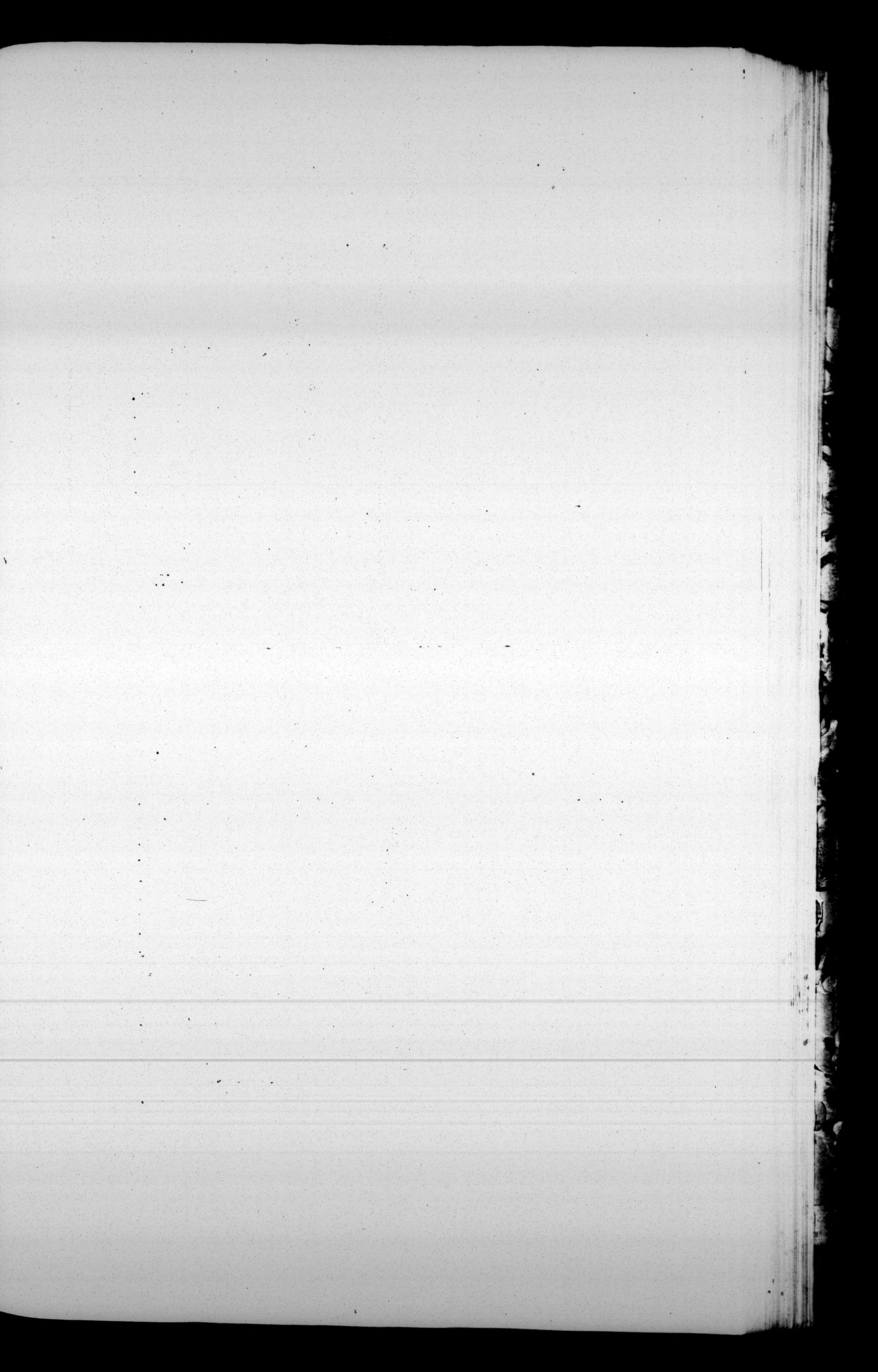
(Signed)

MALMESBURY.

P. S. I thought it would be proper for His Majesty's Minister at Vienna to receive the earliest Intelligence of the Negotiation being broken off, I therefore have dispatched a Messenger to Vienna with a Copy of the several Papers which have passed between me and Mons. Delacroix since our Conference, and also a succinct Account of what passed on it. The Messenger left this Place To-day at Three, P. M.

M.

Right Hon. Lord Grenville, &c. &c. &c.



No. 31.

(A.)

Paris, le 28 Frimaire, An 5.

Monsieur,

LE Directoire Executif a entendu la Lecture de la Note Officielle signées de vous, et de deux Mémoires Confidentials, non signés, qui y étoient joints, et que vous m'avez remis Hier. Il me charge expressément de vous déclarer, qu'il ne peut écouter aucune Note Confidentialle non signée, et de vous requérir de me remettre officiellement, dans le Vingt-quatre Heures, votre *Ultimatum*, signé de vous.

Agreez, Monsieur, l'Assurance de ma haute Consideration.

(Signé)

CH. DELACROIX.

No. 32.

Paris, ce 19 Decembre, 1796.

(B.)

LE Lord Malmesbury, en Réponse à la Lettre que le Ministre des Relations Exterieures, a bien voulu lui faire passer Hier, par les Mains du Secrétaire Général de son Département, doit remarquer, qu'en signant la Note Officielle qu'il a remise à ce Ministre par Ordre de sa Cour, il a cru satisfaire à toutes les Formalités d'Usage, et donner l'Authenticité nécessaire aux Deux Mémoires Confidentials qui y étoient joints. Cependant, pour applaner toutes les Difficultés, en autant que cela dépend de lui, il adopte volontiers les Formes qui sont indiquées par l'Arrête du Directoire Executif, et s'empresse d'envoyer au Ministre des Relations Exterieures les Deux Mémoires signés de sa Main.

Quant à la Demande positive d'un *Ultimatum*, le Lord Malmesbury observe, que c'est vouloir fermer la Porte à toute Négociation que d'insister la dessus d'une Manière aussi peremptoire, avant que les Deux Puissances se soient communiquées leurs Pretensions respectives,

No. 31.

Paris, 28th Frimaire, (December 18) 5th Year.

SIR,

THE Executive Directory has heard the Reading of the official Note signed by you, and of two confidential Memorials without Signatures, which were annexed to it, and which you gave in to me Yesterday. I am charged expressly by the Directory to declare to you, that It cannot listen to any confidential Note without a Signature, and to require of you to give in to me, officially, within four and twenty Hours, your *Ultimatum*, signed by you.

Accept, Sir, the Assurance of my high Consideration.

(Signed)

CH. DELACROIX.

No. 32.

Paris, 19th December, 1796.

(B.)

LORD MALMESBURY, in Answer to the Letter which the Minister for Foreign Affairs had the Goodness to transmit to him through the Hands of the Secretary General of his Department, must remark, that in signing the Official Note which he gave in to that Minister, by Order of his Court, he thought he had complied with all the usual Formalities, and had given the necessary Authenticity to the Two confidential Memorials which were annexed to it. Nevertheless, to remove all Difficulties, as far as lies in his Power, he willingly adopts the Forms which are pointed out by the Resolution of the Executive Directory, and hastens to send to the Minister for Foreign Affairs the Two Memorials signed by his Hand.

With respect to the positive Demand of an *Ultimatum*, Lord Malmetbury observes that insisting on that Point in so peremptory a Manner, before the Two Powers shall have communicated to each other

spectives, et que les Articles du Traité futur aient été soumis aux Discussions que demandent nécessairement les différents Interêts qu'il s'agit de concilier. Il ne peut, donc, rien ajouter aux Assurances qu'il a déjà données au Ministre des Relations Extérieures, tant de vive Voix que dans sa Note Officielle, et il réitere qu'il est prêt à entrer avec ce Ministre dans tous les Explications que l'Etat et le Progrès de la Negociation pourront admettre, et qu'il ne manquera pas d'apporter à Discussion des Propositions de sa Cour, ou de tel Contre Projet qui pourroit lui être remis de la Part du Directoire Executif, cette Franchise et cet Esprit de Conciliation qui repondent aux Sentiments justes et pacifiques de sa Cour."

Le Lord Malmesbury prie le Ministre des Relations Extérieures d'accepter les Assurances de sa haute Consideration.

No. 33.

(C.)

LE soussigné Ministre des Relations Extérieures est chargé par le Directoire Executif de repondre aux Notes du Lord Malmesbury des 27 and 29 Frimaire (17 et 19 Dec^{bre} V. St.) que le Directoire Exécutif n'ecoutera aucunes Propositions contraires à la Constitution, aux Loix, et aux Traités qui lient la République.

Et attendu que le Lord Malmesbury annonce, à chaque Communication, qu'il a besoin d'un Avis de sa Cour, d'où il resulta qu'il remplit un Role purement passif dans la Negotiation, ce qui rend sa Presence à Paris inutile et inconvenante. Le soussigné est en outre chargé de lui notifier de se retirer de Paris, dans deux-fois Vingt-quatre Heures, avec toutes les Personnes qui l'ont accompagné et suivi, et de quitter de Suite le Territoire de la République. Le soussigné déclare au Surplus, au Nom du Directoire Executif que si le Cabinet Britannique desire la Paix, le Directoire Executif est prêt à suivre les Negotiations, d'après les Bases posées dans la présente Note, par Envoi réciproque de Courriers.

(Signé)

CH. DELACROIX.

Paris, le 29 Frimaire, An 5. de la
République Française, une et
indivisible.

other their respective Pretensions, and that the Articles of the future Treaty shall have been submitted to the Discussions which the different Interests which are to be adjusted, necessarily demand, is to shut the Door against all Negotiation. He, therefore, can add nothing to the Assurances which he has already given to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, as well by Word of Mouth, as in his Official Note; and he repeats that he is ready to enter with that Minister into every Explanation of which the State and Progress of the Negotiation may admit, and that he will not fail to enter into the Discussion of the Proposals of his Court, *or of any Counter Project which may be delivered to him, on the Part of the Executive Directory*, with that Candour and that Spirit of Conciliation which correspond with the just and pacifick Sentiments of his Court.

Lord Malmesbury requests the Minister for Foreign Affairs to accept the Assurances of his high Consideration.

No. 33.

THE undersigned Minister for Foreign Affairs is charged by the Executive Directory, to answer to Lord Malmesbury's Two Notes of the 27th and 29th Frimaire (17th and 19th December, O. S.) that the Executive Directory will listen to no Proposals, contrary to the Constitution, to the Laws, and to the Treaties which bind the Republic.

And as Lord Malmesbury announces at every Communication, that he is in Want of the Opinion of his Court, from which it results that he acts a Part merely passive in the Negotiation, which renders his Presence at Paris useless; the undersigned is further charged to give him Notice to depart from Paris in Eight and Forty Hours, with all the Persons who have accompanied and followed him, and to quit, as expeditiously as possible, the Territory of the Republic. The Undersigned declares moreover, in the Name of the Executive Directory, that if the British Cabinet is desirous of Peace, the Executive Directory is ready to follow the Negotiations, according to the Basis laid down in the present Note, by the reciprocal Channel of Couriers.

(Signed)

CH. DELACROIX.

Paris, 29th Frimaire (19th December)
5th Year of the French Republic,
One and Indivisible.

No. 34.

(D.)

LE Lord Malmesbury, s'empresse d'accuser la Reception de la Note du Ministre des Relations Exterieures en Date d'Hier. Il se dispose à quitter Paris Demain, et demande en conséquence les Passeports nécessaires pour lui et sa Suite.

Il prie le Ministre des Relations Exterieures agréer les Assurances de sa haute Consideration.

Paris, ce 20 Decembre, 1796.

No. 34.

(D.)

LORD Malmesbury hastens to acknowledge the Receipt of the Note of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, dated Yesterday. He is preparing to quit Paris To-morrow, and demands, in consequence, the necessary Passports for himself and his Suite.

He requests the Minister for Foreign Affairs to accept the Assurances of his high Consideration.

Paris, 20th Dec. 1796.